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Volume II

INDO-IRANIAN PHONOLOGY

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INDO-IRANIAN PHONOLOGY

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE

TO THE

MIDDLE AND NEW INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

INDO-IRANIAN SERIES

EDITED BY

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON

PROFESSOR OF INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES
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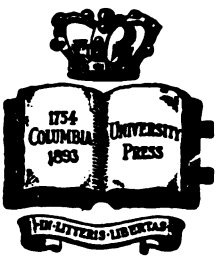
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE

MIDDLE AND NEW INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES

BY

LOUIS H. GRAY, PH.D.

SOMETIME FELLOW IN INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES
IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY



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TO

MY FATHER

AND TO

THE MEMORY OF

MY MOTHER

INTRODUCTION

The united evidence of comparative linguistics, ethnography, and religion has established the doctrine of Indo-Iranian unity on a firm foundation, thereby affording a cardinal doctrine for the comparative study of Sanskrit, Avestan, and Old Persian. The work of Wackernagel and of Bartholomae, based upon this principle, has given the older dialects of the Indo-Iranian their due. But, on the other hand, the phonology of the Middle and New periods of this group has not thus far received the attention which it deserves, and it is in an attempt to supply the deficiency that this volume has been written. It aims to prove that the later Indo-Iranian dialects are still closely akin, and have had in many instances analogous developments, which are legitimate evolutions of processes acknowledged in the oldest Indo-Germanic languages of India and Iran.

A priori we should expect dialects derived from a common source to pursue similar courses of phonological development, as far as their surroundings, changing in course of time, permit. To deny this seems tantamount to attacking the entire principle of phonetic law on which comparative linguistics must rest. To affirm it is to give new strength to scientific research. The Middle and New Indo-Iranian languages show many developments in phonology which may be paralleled with entire justice. To such similarities I have sought to call attention, and I hope that the material which has been gathered may be of service to other linguistic students, and prove that the underlying principle of the book has its justification.

A paper of mine, entitled *Certain parallel Developments in Pāli*

and New Persian Phonology, read before the American Oriental Society at Cambridge, Mass., in April, 1899 (*JAOS.*, xx. 229–243), outlined the method which I have followed in this book. I advanced my views on the comparison of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects before the Society in the following words:

'It is a well-known fact in linguistics that languages which are entirely without influence one on the other often show a striking similarity in their development. The Indo-Iranian group is especially instructive in this regard, for its time-limit extends from the period of Indo-Iranian unity to the present day, while its geographical area stretches from the Siṁhalese in the south to the Māzandarānī in the north, and from the Kurdish in the west to the Bangālī in the east. Between the Indian and the Iranian divisions of the Aryan dialects a development may be traced which is frequently closely parallel. . . . Such a study, which it is my hope and intention to make, might be of service in the study of dialectic developments in general, and although confined to the Indo-Iranian dialects, it might by its implications be not altogether without bearing on the interests of the great body of the Indo-Germanic phonology.'

The result of the investigations which I there proposed to make has been, at least to me, a signal confirmation of my belief.

Mine is not the first attempt to parallel the phonological evolution of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. The first Orientalist who, so far as I know, drew attention to the connexion between the two great modern dialect-groups was Reland. He wrote in his study *De linguis insularum orientalium* ('Dissertationes miscellaneae,' iii. 86, Traj. ad Rhenum, 1708), 'Nonnullae voces [linguae singalaeae] cum Persicis conveniunt, uti *Aswajaa*, equus, اسپ *Asp*, *Rahasa*, arcanum, راز *Raz*, רז Chaldaeis, arcanum. *Bandinjai*, ligo, بند *Band*, *Dewijan*, Deus, Pers. دیو *Div*, Genius.' (Cf. also Benfey, *Gesch. der Sprachwissensch.*, 241.) A very similar suggestion was made exactly a century later, when 'en 1808 John Leyden fait du zend un dialecte pracrit, parallèle au pali, le pali étant identique au magadhi des grammairiens et le zend à leur

sauraseni. En 1819, Erskine fait du zend un dialecte sanscrit importé de l'Inde en Perse par le fondateur de Magisme, mais n'ayant jamais été parlé par les indigènes de Perse' (Darmesteter, *Le ZA.*, i. p. xxi, cf. *SBE.*, iv. 2, p. xxiii). In 1873 Trumpp in his *Grammar of the Paṣṭō or Language of the Afghāns compared with the Īrānian and North-Indian Idioms* revived the view that the later Indo-Iranian dialects were closely connected linguistically, even though his work was vitiated by his false theory that Afγān is 'an old independent language, forming the first transition from the Indo-Ārian to the Īrānian family, and therefore partaking of the characteristics of both' (p. xii. Cf. the approving remarks of Hoernle, *Comp. Gramm.*, xxxiv–xxxv, as contrasted with Darmesteter, *Chants populaires des Afghans*, p. lix). Finally, in 1898, Horn, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 35 Anm., compared the Iranian change of *ṛ* to *ē* in Skt. *vṛkṣa* 'tree,' Av. *varəša*: Phl. *vēšak*, New Pers. *bēšah* with the Prākritic *gēha* 'house' beside *gṛha* (see below, § 78). The same scholar also alludes to the mutations common to both dialect-groups of initial *y* to *j*, of intervocalic *k* to *g*, or its syncope, of the epenthesis of *-ary-* to *-ēr-*, and of the apparent substitution of *y* for intervocalic *d* and *g* (see below, §§ 331, 116, 128, 8, 256, 143). Geiger, ibid., 208, notes that the occasional interchange of *l* and *n* in Afγān may be paralleled in Indian (see below, § 281). Against the view held by Geiger and Horn, Hübschmann has expressed himself emphatically (*IF. Anz.*, x. 23), but his objection seems to me scarcely valid.

The Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects which I have considered may be classified as follows:

a. Indian. 1. Middle Indian or Prākrit. This group embraces Māhārāṣṭrī, the Prākrit κατ' ἐξοχήν, with Jāina Māhārāṣṭrī, Māgadhī and Ardhamāgadhī (also called Ārṣa and Jāina Prākrit), and Śaurasēnī, the principal Prākrit of the drama. These form the literary dialects called *bhāṣā* by Mārkaṇḍēya, while the lower Prākrits used in literature, Śākārī, Cāṇḍālī, Śābarī, and others form Mārkaṇḍēya's *vibhāṣa* class. The other Middle Indian groups are Apabhraṁśa and Pāiśācī. Apabhraṁśa denotes the Middle

Indian vernaculars as distinguished from the Prākrits or literary dialects of the period. Pāiśācī together with Cūlikāpāiśācī seems to have comprised the dialects of the north and west of India (Pischel, *Gramm. der Prākrit-Spr.*, §§ 1–30, cf. also Hoernle, *Calcutta Rev.*, lxxi. 311–332; Grierson, ibid., ci. 258–274). A somewhat peculiar position is held by the so-called Gāthā dialect of the Lalita-vistara, and by the Prākrit of the inscriptions (Pischel's 'Lēṇadialekt'). The Gāthā dialect is an artificial composition of Prākrit bases with Sanskrit inflections (Macdonell, *Hist. of Skt. Lit.*, 25–26), while the Lēṇa dialect, a popular Middle Indian *lingua franca*, shows many Sanskritisms in its Prākrit (or Apabhraṁśa) structure (Pischel, § 7). As Ardhamāgadhī and Jāina Māhārāṣṭrī became the sacred dialects of Jainism, so Pāli was the language of the southern Buddhist Church. From what district of India Pāli came is very uncertain. Geiger, *Lit. und Spr. der Singh.*, 90–91, very plausibly supposes that the country comprised by modern Gujarat was its home (for other views see E. Müller, *Pāli Gramm.*, viii–ix). The Middle Indian languages are not descendants of Sanskrit, but of the Vedic dialect and its neighbours. Buried for a time by the literary supremacy of Sanskrit, they emerged when the religious movements of Buddha and Mahāvīra and the development of the drama gave them opportunity, and they then proved themselves worthy of cultivation in literature, both sacred and profane (Pischel, §§ 13–15).

2. New Indian. The New Indian dialects are derived from the Apabhraṁśas or folk-dialects of the Prākrits. Any attempt to trace rigidly Modern Indian dialects to specific Middle Indian predecessors is difficult with the sources now under our control. Pischel, § 5, derives Gujarātī, or Marwārī, from Śaurasēnī-Apabhraṁśa, Marāṭhī from Māhārāṣṭrī-Apabhraṁśa, while Bihārī and Western Bangālī seem to come from Māgadhī-Apabhraṁśa through the Lāṭ, or Pillar, dialect. The Indian basis of Siṁhalese and Māladive is derived from a dialect closely akin to Pāli (Geiger, *Lit. und Spr. der Singh.*, 86–93). Hoernle, *Comp. Gramm.*, xxiv–xxv, and *Calcutta Rev.*, lxxi. 311–332, Beames, *Comp. Gramm.*, i.

6–7, 33–34, and Grierson, *Seven Grammars . . . of the Bihárí Language*, pt. i, Calcutta, 1883, 3–7, should also be consulted.

I have discussed the New Indian dialects in the following order: Assamese, Nāipālī, Kaśmīrī, Uṛiyā, Bangālī, Bihārī, Hindī, Panjābī, Sindhī, Gujarātī, Marāṭhī, Siṁhalese and its older form Eḷu, Māladive, and Gypsy. There are numerous sub-dialects in all of them. The most comprehensive classification of these languages is in Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India, First, Rough List*, Calcutta, 1898. Here, for instance, sixty-four sub-dialects of Gujarātī are given with their districts and the number of persons speaking them; Bangālī has sixteen varieties of vernacular, and Western Hindī fifty-two. For further information see Cust, *Modern Languages of the East Indies*, London, 1878, 35–64, 158–161; Beames, *Comp. Gramm.*, i. 96–107; Geiger, *Lit. und Spr. der Singh.*, 88–89.

Language maps of India should also be consulted, such as those given in Hoernle's *Comp. Gramm.*, and his edition of the *Prākṛta-Lakṣaṇa*, Calcutta, 1880; Beames's *Outlines of Indian Philology*, London, 1868; Grierson's *Seven Gramm. of Bihárí*, i; Cust's *Mod. Lang. of the East Ind.*; Constable's *Hand Atlas of India*, Westminster, 1893, plate 10, and others.

b. Iranian. 1. Middle Iranian. The sole surviving representative of Middle Iranian is Middle Persian, or Pahlavī, which is closely related to Old Persian (Salemann, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. 225–226).

2. New Iranian. New Iranian dialects are exceedingly numerous. They are divided as follows: New Persian and the dialects of the Pāmir, Caspian, and Central districts, Afyān, Balūcī, Kurdish, and Ossetish. The Pāmir dialects include Wāxī, Šiynī, Sariqolī, Rōšānī, Tājikī, Sanglīcī, Minjānī or Mungī, Yidyah, and Yaynōbī (Geiger, *Grundr. der iran. Phil.*, i. b. 290–291). Caspian dialects are Samnānī, Māzandarānī, Lāhījānī, Gīlakī, Tāliši, and Tāt (Geiger, 346–348). The Central dialects embrace Gabrī, Šīrāzī, Bahbahānī, Sīvēndī, Yazdī, Zafrahī, Kašahī, Vōnišūnī, Kuhrudī, Nāyīnī, Natanzī, and Kāšānī (Geiger, 381–383). The Afyān

dialects are the Northern and Southern, which do not differ materially from each other (Geiger, 203 ; Darmesteter, *Chants pop.*, p. iv). Balūcī, the most primitive of all the New Iranian dialects, has two divisions, Northern and Southern (or Makrānī), which diverge considerably. The greater portion of Balūcī literature is in the Northern vernacular, but the Makrānī is the more primitive speech. North Balūcī is divided into Laγārī in the North and Marrī in the South, while Southern Balūcī comprises Eastern and Western sub-dialects (Geiger, 232). The chief divisions of Kurdish are Lūrī, Kirmānšāhī, Gūrānī, Mukrī, and Zaza (Socin, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 249–252, cf. Justi, *Kurd. Gramm.*, pp. xix–xxvii). The sub-groups of the Ossetish are Tagaurish or Irish, Ironish, in the (North-) East, Digorish or Dugorish, in the (North-) West, and Tualish in the South. Tagaurish, of which Tualish is merely a sub-dialect, is by far the most important Ossetish vernacular (Hübschmann, *Etymol. und Lautl. der oss. Spr.*, 11–12). The admirable summary of New Iranian by Geiger, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 417–423, and his language chart, ibid., 421, should be consulted in this connexion. Recent bibliography on Middle and New Indo-Iranian may be gathered from Scherman's *Orientalische Bibliographie*, and older literature is collected by Pott, *Techmer's Zeitschrift*, ii. 109–115, 209–213, 230–234, 241–248.

I have intentionally refrained throughout my work from footnotes and references to my sources, which would have unduly increased the size of the book. I have endeavoured, however, to work through the principal literature on my subject, and to be as complete as possible. For the Prākrit I had to rely mainly on Hēmacandra (ed. Pischel, Halle, 1877–1880), Vararuci (ed. Cowell[2], London, 1868), and the Prākṛta-lakṣaṇa (ed. Hoernle, Calcutta, 1880). Lassen's *Institutiones linguae pracriticae*, Bonn, 1837 ; Hoerne, *Calcutta Rev.*, lxxi. 311–332, and Bhandarkar, *JRASBo.*, xvii. 1–48, also furnished hints. Pischel's *Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen*, Strassburg, 1900, did not appear until after my manuscript was in the printer's hands. I have used it, nevertheless,

in correcting my proof, although sometimes, for typographical reasons, errors in the Prākrit, arising from too close adherence on my part to the native grammarians, could be checked only by a reference to Pischel (e. g. §§ 25, 57, 121, 184, etc.). For Ardhamāgadhī I relied mainly on E. Müller's *Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainaprākṛit*, Berlin, 1876; for Māhārāṣṭrī on Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen*, Leipzig, 1886, and for the 'Gāthā dialect' on E. Müller, *KB.*, viii. 257–292, and Lefmann, *ZDMG.*, xxix. 212–234. The material on the Lēṇa dialect is drawn from Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, Paris, 1881–1886. I used for Pāli the grammars of E. Müller (London, 1884), Frankfurter (London, 1883), Minayeff (tr. Guyard, Paris, 1874); Kuhn's *Beiträge zur Pali-Grammatik*, Berlin, 1876, and articles by Mitra, *JRASBe.*, xxiii. 604–614, and Bhandarkar, *JRASBo.*, xvi. 275–313.

For the New Indian I had, of course, the excellent, though somewhat antiquated, *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, by Beames, London, 1872–1879; Hoernle's *Comparative Grammar of the Gauḍian Languages*, London, 1880, and articles by Grierson, *ZDMG.*, xlix. 393–421, l. 1–42; *Calcutta Rev.*, ci. 258–274, and Bhandarkar, *JRASBo.*, xvi. 314–345, xvii. 99–182. Among my sources for individual New Indian dialects I may mention particularly Grierson's *Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Sub-dialects of the Bihárí Language*, Part I, Calcutta, 1883, and his papers on Kaśmīrī phonology, *JRASBe.*, lxv. 280–305, lxvi. 180–184; Kellogg, *Grammar of the Hindi Language*, Allahabad, 1876; Trumpp, *Grammar of the Sindhi Language*, London, 1872 (cf. *ZDMG.*, xv. 690–752); and the articles on Siṁhalese by Kuhn, *Sitzb. M. Ac. der Wiss., Philos.-philol. Cl.*, 1879, 399–434 (tr. D. Fergusson, *IA.*, xiii. 53–65); E. Müller, *IA.*, xi. 198–220, and Geiger, *Abh. M. Ac. der Wiss., I. Cl.*, xxi. 177–273. The latter scholar's *Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, Strassburg, 1901, and *Māldivische Studien, Sitzb. M. Ac. der Wiss., Philos.-philol. Cl.*, 1900, 641–684, *ZDMG.*, lv. 371–387, came in time to correct the final proof. My source for Gypsy phonology, a group of dialects to which I have referred but rarely,

is the study by Miklosich in the *Denkschriften der W. Ac. der Wiss., Phil.-hist. Cl.*, xxx.

The Iranian material is far less scattered. For Pahlavī I relied mainly on the *Manuel de Pehlevi* of de Harlez, Paris, 1880; Spiegel's *Grammatik der Huzvâresch-Sprache*, Vienna, 1856; the edition of the Frahang-i Oim and the Sassanian Frahang ('Old Zand-Pahlavi' and 'Old Pahlavi-Pazand' glossaries) by Hoshangji and Haug, Bombay and London, 1867–1870 (see the excellent new edition by Reichelt, *WZKM.*, xiv. 177–213, xv. 117–156), and the edition of *The Book of Arda Viraf* by Haug and West, Bombay and London, 1872–1874. Salemann's *Mittelpersisch* in the Geiger-Kuhn *Grundriss* came after the final proofs were read. This *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, edited by Geiger and Kuhn, Strassburg, 1895 to date, has been my main source for New Persian, the Pāmir, Central, and Caspian dialects, Afyān, Balūcī, and Kurdish. It has been supplemented for New Persian material by Horn's *Neupersische Etymologie*, Strassburg, 1893, and Hübschmann's *Persische Studien*, Strassburg, 1895; for Afyān, by Trumpp's *Grammar of the Paṣtō*, London, 1873, Darmesteter, *Chants populaires des Afghans*, Paris, 1888–1890, and Geiger, *Abh. M. Ac. der Wiss., I. Cl.*, xx. 169–222; for Balūcī, by Geiger, ibid., xix. 107–153, 399–464, *Sitzb. M. Ac. der Wiss., Philos.-philol. Cl.*, 1889, 65–92; for Kurdish, by Justi's *Kurdische Grammatik*, St. Petersburg, 1880, and Fr. Müller's study on the Zaza dialect, *Sitzb. W. Ac. der Wiss., Phil.-hist. Cl.*, xlviii. 227–245. The Ossetish material is drawn from Hübschmann's *Etymologie und Lautlehre der ossetischen Sprache*, Strassburg, 1887. I also consulted numerous other works and articles for minor points or without results.

I follow Brugmann's *Grundriss* for the Indian transcription and the Geiger-Kuhn *Grundriss* for the Iranian, with a few additions and modifications, which follow. Indian: *ṁ* instead of *ṃ*, *ś* instead of *š́*, and *ṣ* for *ş̌*, also *r̲*, *r̲h*, *l̲* for cerebral *r*, *rh*, and *l* (*ḷ*). In Middle and New Indian I write *ē*, *ō* before single consonants, but *e*, *o* before consonant-groups; for Sindhī I add, according to the system of Trumpp and the Royal Asiatic Society, *ḡ*, *j̄*, *ḍ̄*, *b̄*, 'uttered

with a certain stress in prolonging and somewhat strengthening the contact of the closed organ, as if one tried to double the sound at the beginning of a word' (Trumpp, *Grammar*, 13); for Siṁhalese, *ä*, *ā* have been added according to Geiger's usage, although I here transcribe his *m̆*, *n̆* by *ṁ*. Iranian: I transpose the functions of *č* and *c*, and of *ǰ* and *j*, to harmonize with the Indian system, so that *c*, *j* denote palatals, and *č*, *ǰ* affricatae; for Afγān *g̱* I write *a*, in Balūcī *i* instead of *i̯*, in North Balūcī *kh*, *ch*, *th*, *ph* instead of *k'*, *č'*, *t'*, *p'*, and in Ossetish *a*, *i*, *c*, *ch*, *j*, *č*, *čh*, *ǰ* instead of Hübschmann's *ä*, *i̯*, *tš*, *thš*, *dž*, *ts*, *ths*, *dz*. Socin's Kurdish transcription is conformed to the regular Iranian system and compared throughout with Justi.

Numerous parallels between the phonological phenomena here noted and sound-changes in other Indo-Germanic dialects will at once be perceived. Thus the syncope of *g* discussed in § 147 may be compared with the same process in Attic *ἐγών*: Boeotian *ἰών*; Attic *ὀλίγος*: Tarentine *ὀλίος*; Latin *Iguvium*, Umbrian Ikuvinus beside later *Iiouinur* (cf. also § 143); Latin *rēgem*; Old French *rei*, Modern French *roi* (cf. Haag, *Vergleichung des Prakrit mit den romanischen Sprachen*, Berlin, 1869; Brandreth, *JRAS.*, NS. xi. 287-316, xii. 335-364). Limitations of space prevented me from referring to such parallel phenomena in dialects outside the Indo-Iranian. For the same reason I abstained from any extensive explanations by physiological phonetics of the sound-changes which I have recorded, and from all discussion of inflection or syntax.

Errors of detail, explanation, and example will undoubtedly be found in my Phonology, and I shall be grateful for all corrections and additions. If, however, my cardinal theorem holds good, I shall feel that the work has been not in vain. I trust that the book may serve, besides its main purpose, as a contribution towards comparative lexicography of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian languages, and with this object in view I have cited examples from as large a number of dialects as possible. Throughout my work I have sought to present facts rather than theories. My general conclusions in each chapter are summarized at its beginning (see

§§ 1, 113, 460), and every paragraph is introduced by the result my study of the material contained in it. The deductions gai from the entire book may be summarized thus: the pho logical tendencies discernible as early as in the (Indian and Iranian period have developed steadily, e on its own line, in the Middle and New dialects, a through regular divergency, no less than through si larity of evolution, the tie of Indo-Iranian unity is pot still.

To Professor Hopkins of Yale my thanks are due for courtesy in lending me from his private library certain works importance which would otherwise have been inaccessible. I indebted to the excellent reader of the Oxford University Pre who has contributed in no small degree by his care to the accura of the book. Especially do I wish to express my gratitude to friend and teacher, Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, who h grudged neither time nor toil in his generous assistance. student-life with him for *guru* at Columbia University, where t book was written, will ever be a happy memory. Well said t Sanskrit poet:

ēkam apy akṣaraṁ yas tu guruḥ śiṣyē nivēdayēt
pṛthivyāṁ nāsti tad dravyaṁ yad datvā sō 'nṛṇī bhavēt.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

ABBREVIATIONS

Afy.	= Afyān.	N.	= North.
Apab.	= Apabhraṁśa.	Nāip.	= Nāipālī.
Ardhamāg.	= Ardhamāgadhī.	Nat.	= Natanzī.
Ass.	= Assamese.	Nāy.	= Nāyīnī.
Av.	= Avesta.	nom. prop.	= nomen proprium.
Āvant.	= Āvantī.	O. H. Germ.	= Old High German.
Bahb.	= Bahbahānī.	Oss.	= Ossetish.
Bal.	= Balūcī.	Pāiś.	= Pāiśācī.
Bang.	= Bangālī.	Panj.	= Panjābī.
Bulg.	= Bulgarian.	Pāz.	= Pāzand.
Dig.	= Digorish.	Pers.	= Persian.
E.	= East.	Phl.	= Pahlavī.
Eng.	= English.	Prāk.	= Prākrit.
Gab.	= Gabrī.	Rōš.	= Rōšānī.
GAv.	= Gāθā-Avesta.	Śāk.	= Śākārī.
Gīl.	= Gīlakī.	Samn.	= Samnānī.
Gk.	= Greek.	Sangl.	= Sanglīcī.
Guj.	= Gujarātī.	Sarq.	= Sariqolī.
Gyp.	= Gypsy.	Śāur.	= Śāurasēnī.
Ind.	= Indian.	Šiγn.	= Šiγnī.
Kaf.	= Kafirī.	Siṁh.	= Siṁhalese.
Kāš.	= Kāšānī.	Šīr.	= Šīrāzī.
Kaśm.	= Kaśmīrī.	Sīv.	= Sīvēndī.
Kuhr.	= Kuhrudī.	Skt.	= Sanskrit.
Kurd.	= Kurdish.	Span.	= Spanish.
Lat.	= Latin.	Tag.	= Tagaurish.
lexicog.	= lexicographical.	Tāl.	= Tālish.
Lith.	= Lithuanian.	Uṛ.	= Uṛiyā.
Māg.	= Māgadhī.	Vōn.	= Vōnišūnī.
Māhār.	= Māhārāṣṭrī.	W.	= West.
Mar.	= Marāṭhī.	Yaγn.	= Yaγnōbī.
Māz.	= Māzandarānī.	YAv.	= Younger Avesta.
Med.	= Median.	Yidg.	= Yidgī.
Minj.	= Minjānī.	Zaf.	= Zafrahī.
Mult.	= Multānī.		

* = hypothetical forms. > = becomes. < = derived from.

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INDO-IRANIAN PHONOLOGY

VOWELS

§ 1. The vowels of the Indo-Iranian period have remained in general unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. But beside the many instances of preservation of an original vowel, there are numerous examples of changes either in quantity or in quality, or in both. The most striking mutations will be found in the cases of original *a* and *ṛ*. The reasons why these two vowels are especially liable to change are not far to seek. Indo-Iranian *a* = Indo-Germanic *a*, *e*, *o*, *å* is the most simple of all the vowels. It represents, moreover, the so-called 'natural vowel,' the basis of all articulate sounds, which lies midway between *ä* and *ö* (Sievers, Phonetik[4], § 209). It is thus self-evident that the Indo-Iranian *a* is particularly liable to change. The changes in question are ordinarily due to the influence of surrounding consonants. Labials often colour *a* to *u*, and sibilants colour *a* to *i*. From such a change of *a* to *u*, *i*, a further development to *ŏ*, *ĕ*, or to *ū*, *ī* may take place.

Turning to *ṛ*, it is well known that of all the Indo-Germanic languages only the Old Indian and the Avesta have preserved Indo-Germanic *ṛ* unchanged (Old Indian keeping also Indo-Germanic *r̄*, *l̥*). Even the Old Indian has lost Indo-Germanic *l̄*, *m̥̆*, *n̥̆*, and the Avesta has lost these sounds with Indo-Germanic *r̄*, *l̥̄* in addition. In the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects we find a continuation of the process already begun in the older period by which the sonant liquids and nasals lost their original values, and became coloured by the surrounding consonants. Thus Old Indian

ṛ, Avesta *ərə*, became *ar*, *a*, *ra*, *ir*, *i*, *ri*, and the like in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

The changes of the other vowels from their values in the Indo-Iranian period are not without analogy to the changes of *a* and *ṛ*, although they are more sporadic. Labials frequently colour *i* to *u* as sibilants colour *u* to *i*. The change of *i*, *u* to *a* seems to be due to a weakening of the old value of *i*, *u* to *ə*.

The long vowels are subject to changes which are, generally speaking, analogous to those of the corresponding short vowels. Before two or more consonants all vowels, including also the Old Indian diphthongs, are to be considered short in the Middle and New Indian dialects. On the other hand, the simplification of a consonant-group is normally attended, in both the Indian and the Iranian dialects of the Middle and New periods, by the lengthening of a preceding short vowel.

The following paragraphs will contain more precise statements upon these several points in their proper places.

a = *a*.

§ 2. Indo-Iranian *a* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bharati* 'bears,' Prāk. *bharaï*, Pāli *bharati*. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Apab. Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Pāli *pakka*, Ass. *pakā*, Nāip. *pāk*, Kaśm. *papi*, Uṛ. *pakkā*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindī *pākal*, Hindī, Panj. *pakkā*, Sindhī *pakō*, Guj. *√pak*, *√pik* 'ripen,' Mar. *pīk*, *pikā*, Gyp. *pakō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *baraiti* 'bears,' Old Pers. *barati*, Phl. *baraṯ*, New Pers. *barad*, Gab. *bartmūn*, Kāš. *bartan*, Māz. *bavardan*, Gīl. *bardan*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *asa*, Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Wāxī *yaš*, Minj. *yas(a)p*, Afγ. *aspā* (fem.), Bal. *(h)ăps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *afsa*.

a > *i*.

§ 3. This change is not infrequent, either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects. As has been noted in § 1, the change of

a to *i* is due in many cases to the influence of a neighbouring sibilant.

a. Indian. In the Indian dialects *a* is changed to *i* more commonly in the West than in the East, so that the Sindhī shows the greatest number of examples of this phenomenon. The fondness of the Middle Indian dialects for the change was, on the whole, greater than that which is now shown by the New Indian.

Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Apab. Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Guj. *√pak*, *√pik*, Mar. *pīk*, *pikā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *aṅgāra* 'coal,' Prāk., Jāina Prāk. *iṁgāla*, Guj. *iṁgār*, *iṁgōl*, Mar. *iṁgāḷ*, *iṁgōḷ*. Skt. *yathā* 'how,' *yatra* 'where,' Apab. Prāk. *jidhā*, *jetthu*, *jattu*, Pāli *yatthā*, *yatra*, Sindhī *jiti*. Skt. *dyūtakara* 'gambler,' Śāk. and Māg. Prāk. *jūdiala*. Skt. *tamasa* 'darkness,' Prāk. *tama*, Pāli *timisa*. Skt. *pañjara* 'cage,' Māg. Prāk. *paṁjalaa*, Pāli *pañjara*, Uṛ. *piṁjira*, Hindī *piṁjar*, Sindhī *piñir*. Skt. *kṣamā*, 'patience,' Prāk., Pāli *khamā* 'patience,' *chamā* 'earth,' Hindī *chimā*, *chamā*, Panj. *khimā*, Sindhī *khimā*, Guj. *khamā*. Skt. *varkara* 'goat,' Uṛ., Bang., Hindī *bakarā*, Panj. *bakkarā*, Sindhī *ḅakirō*, Guj. *bakarō*, Mar. *bōkaṛ*, Gyp. *bakro*. Skt. **prathara* 'first,' Hindī *pahalā*, *pahil*, Panj. *pahil*, Guj. *pēhēlō*, Sindhī *paharyōṁ*, *pahir(y)ōṁ*. Skt. *prahara* 'watch,' Prāk. *pahara*, Panj. *pahir*, other New Ind. dialects *pahar*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ātarš* 'fire,' Phl. *ātaš*, New Pers. (*ā*)*taš*, *ātiš*, Šiγ. *yač*, Sarq. *yuč*, Gab. *taš*, Minj. *yūr*, N. Bal. *āc*, Kurd. *agir*, *āṛ*, *ēr*, Zaza *ādir*. Av. *yākarə* 'liver,' Phl. *jakar*, *yakar*, New Pers. *jigar*, Bal. *jagar*, N. Bal. *jaγaṛ*, Kurd. *jark*, Dig. Oss. *igar*. Av. *sata* 'hundred,' New Pers. *sad*, Afγ. *sal*, *sil*, Kurd. *sad*, Oss. *sada*. Av. *pairi* 'around,' Old Pers. *pariy*, Phl., New Pers. *par*, Bal. *pir* (cf. Siṁh. *piri*). Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *zan*, Šiγ. *γin*, Sarq. *γīn*, *žin*, Minj. *žinga*, Gab. *jan*, Kuhr. *žan*, *jin*, Zaf. *žan*, Afγ. *jinaī*, *jūnaī*, Bal. *jan*, Kurd. *žan*, *žin*, Zaza *jan*. Av. *anya* 'other,' Old Pers. *aniya*, Pāz. *han*, archaic New Pers. *hān*, Oss. *inna*.

a > *u*.

§ 4. The change of *a* to *u* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is a very frequent one. It has been noted in § 1 that a labial often colours an original *a* to *u*.

a. Indian. As the change of *a* to *i* is more common in the western Indian dialects than in the eastern (see § 3, a), so the change of *a* to *u* is more frequent in the eastern dialects of India than in the western, and as *a* becomes *i* in Sindhī, Gujarātī and Marāṭhī, so *a* becomes *u* most often of all in Uṛiya and Bangālī.

Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Prāk. *paṭhuma*, *puḍhuma*, *puḍhama*, *paḍhama*, Pāli *paṭhama*. Skt. *pṛthaktva* 'peculiarity,' Jāina Prāk. *puhutta*. Skt. *manuṣa* 'man,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Dhauli) *munisa*, *manusa*. Skt. *pañcaviṁśati* 'twenty-five,' Pāli *paṇṇuvīsati*. Skt. *karkaṭika* 'cucumber,' Uṛ. *kāṁkurī*, Bang. *kāṁkuṛ*, Hindī *kakaṛī*. Skt. *mudgara* 'club,' Prāk., Pāli *moggara*, Uṛ. *mōgarā*, Bang. *mugur*, Hindī *mūgarā*, *mōgarā*, Sindhī *muñirō*, Guj., Mar. *mōgar*. Skt. *aṅgulikā* 'finger,' Apab. Prāk. *aṁguliu*, Pāli *aṁgulikā*, Nāip. *auṁlō*, Bihārī *aṁgurī*, Hindī *uṁgalī*, *aṁgulī*, Panj. *uṁgulī*. Skt., Pāli *dhanu* 'bow,' Simh. *dunu*. Skt. *manōrama* 'delightful,' Siṁh. **manurama-ka* > *manumaraka* 'grandson,' New Siṁh. *munuburā*. Skt. *samudra* 'sea,' Prāk. *samudda*, *samudra*, Pāli *samudda*, Siṁh. **hamuda* > **mahuda* > *muhuda*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vanā* 'tree,' Phl. *van*, New Pers. *bun*, Kāš. *bana*, Afγ. *vana*, Bal. *gvan*, Dig. Oss. *bun*, Tag. *bin*. Phl. *xᵛaṯai* 'God,' New Pers. *xudāi*, Šiγ., Sarq. *qudā*, Kurd. *xadē*, *xudē*. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šavad*, Afγ. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šuδā*, *šuθā*, Kurd. *čūn*, Oss. *caün*. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl. *cahār*, Pāz. *cihār*, New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxī *čabur*, *čabūr*, Šiγ. *čavor*, *čavar*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *saf̌ōr*, Afγ. *čalōr*, Kurd. (Sihna) *cavār*, Dig. Oss. *čuphphar*, Tag. *čiphphar*. Av. *pasu* 'cattle,' Wāxī *pus*, Afγ. *psa*, Bal. *pas*, N. Bal. *phas*, Kurd. *paz*, Dig. Oss. *fus*, Tag. *fis*. Av. √*xᵛan* 'call,' Phl.

x^{v}anṭanŏ, New Pers. *x^{v}āndan*, Wāxī *kandam*, Šiγ. *šandam*, Sarq. *šāndam*, Bal. *vānag*, N. Bal. *vānaγ*, Kurd. *x^{v}āndin*, *xūndin*, Oss. *xund*. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, *tišnak(īh)*, New Pers. *tiš*, Šiγ. *tašna(gī)*, Sarq. *tūr(ī)*, Gab. *tašna*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afγ. *taẓai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*.

a > *ā*.

§ 5. The change of *a* to *ā* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is due in the great majority of instances to compensatory lengthening, as noted in § 1. Sporadic cases of inorganic lengthening of an original *a* are not infrequent.

a. Indian. In the New Indian dialects Bangālī prefers the long vowel by compensatory lengthening before a simplified consonant-group, while Panjābī and Sindhī show short vowels, the Panjābī having a repeated consonant and the Sindhī a single one. Hindī stands midway between the two extremes in this regard. The Braj dialect of Hindī is especially fond of changing *a* to *ā*, and it is followed here by its sister dialects, the Mārwārī, Māiwārī, and Kanāujī. In Marāṭhī the root-vowel of the infinitive is frequently lengthened.

Skt. *samṛddhi* 'prosperity,' Prāk. *sāmiddhi*, Pāli *samiddhi*. Skt. *sarṣapa* 'mustard,' Jāina Prāk. *sāsava*, Pāli *sāsapa*. Skt. *sparśana* 'touch,' Prāk. *phāsa*, Pāli *phassa*. Skt. *pradakṣiṇa* 'pertaining to the right hand,' Gāthā *prādakṣiṇa*. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Nāip. *pāk*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindī *pākal*, etc. (see § 2). Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Prāk., Pāli *vaccha*, Ass. *bācru* (pron. *bāsru*), Kaśm. *vūč*, Uṛ. *bāchurī*, Bang. *vācchā*, *bāccā*, E. Hindī *bāch*, Hindī *bacharū*, *bacharā*, Panj. *baccā*, Sindhī *bāco*, Guj. *baccō*, Mar. *bacrēṁ*, *vāsruṁ*. Skt. *khaṭvā* 'bedstead,' Prāk. *khaṭṭā*, Uṛ. *khāṭa*, Bang. *khāṭ(alā)*, Hindī *khāṭ*, Panj. *khaṭṭ*, Sindhī *khaṭ*, Guj., Mar. *khāṭ*. Skt., Pāli *kacchapa* 'tortoise,' Uṛ. *kachima*, Bang. *kāchima*, Hindī, Panj. *kachūā*, Sindhī *kachūṁ*. Skt. *calana* 'course,' Uṛ. *cālibā*, Braj *cālanāuṁ*, Hindī *calanā*, Mar. *cālaṇēṁ*. Skt. *satya* 'true,' Prāk., Pāli *sacca*, Uṛ., Bang. *sacā*, Braj *sāṁc*, Hindī *sac*, Panj. *sacc*, Sindhī *sacō*, Guj., Mar. *sac*. Skt. *nagna* 'naked,'

Prāk., Pāli *nagga*, Ur. *naṁgalā*, Bang. *nēṁṭā*, Hindī *naṁgā*, E. Panj. *naṅgā*, W. Panj. *nāṅgā*, Sindhī *naṁgō*, Guj. *nāguṁ*, Mar. *naṁgā*, *naggā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nakha* 'finger-nail,' Phl., New Pers. *nāxun*, Afγ. *nūk*, Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, Kurd. *nainuk*. Skt. *parut* 'last year,' New Pers. *pār*, Wāxī *pard*, Sarq. *parvus*, Afγ. *parōs*, Bal. *pārī*, N. Bal. *phārī*, Dig. Oss. *fạrạ*, Tag. *faron*. Av. *hazaŋra* 'thousand,' Phl., New Pers. *hazār*, Wāxī *hazūr*, Sarq. *hazōr*, Afγ. *zar*, Kurd. *hazār*. Av. *tąθra* 'dark,' Phl., New Pers. *tār*, Minj. *tarāvi*, Afγ. *tōr*, Dig. Oss. *thalinga*, Tag. *thaling*. Av. *vafra* 'snow,' Phl. *vafr*, New Pers. *barf*, Gab., Kāš., Māz., Gīl. *varf*, Afγ. *vāvra*. Av. *marəta* 'man,' Old Pers. *martiya*, Phl. *mart*, New Pers. *mard*, Gab. *mārd*, Sīv. *mīrd*, Bal. *mar*, Kurd. *mir*, *mēr*. Phl. *lap* 'lip,' New Pers. *lab*, Wāxī, Sang. *lav*, Gab. *lāv*. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Phl. *sart*, New Pers. *sard*, Wāxī *sur(ī)*, Gab. *sart*, Afγ. *sōr*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sārth*, Kurd. *sār*, Tag. Oss. *sald*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *asa*, Bal. *(h)ăps*, etc. (see § 2). Av. *paścaṭ* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā*, Phl. *pas(īn)*, New Pers. *pas*, Kuhr. *pas*, *paš*, Kāš. *pac*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *paśva*, *pāšī*, Dig. Oss. *fastaga*, Tag. *fastag*. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' New Pers. *xusrū*, *xusū*, Wāxī, Šiγ. *xaš*, Kāš. *xasrū*, Afγ. *x^{v}āša*, Bal. *vassō*, *vassī*, *vassē*, Kurd. *xosī*, *xassu*, *xasrū*.

a > *ī*.

§ 6. This change is a very rare one.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Sarq. *γīn*, *žin*, etc. (see § 3).

a > *ū*.

§ 7. This change is closely akin to the one described in the preceding paragraph.

a. Indian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Kaśm. *vūč*, etc. (see § 5).

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Afγ. *jinaī*, *jūnaī*, etc. (see § 3). Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, etc. (see § 4). Av. *maiδyąna* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*, Wāxī *malung*,

Šiγ. *maδāna*, Sarq. *mēδ*, Sangl. *mīda*, Afγ. *mlā*, Dig. Oss. *mēdag*, Tag. *mīdag*. New Pers. *namak* 'salt,' Šiγ. Šīr. *nīmīk*.

a > *ĕ*.

§ 8. This change is of comparatively rare occurrence. It is due very frequently to the palatalizing influence of a neighbouring *y*.

a. Indian. In the Middle and New Indian dialects *e* is long only before single consonants: before a consonant-group it is to be considered short. Of the New Indian dialects Panjābī and Gujarātī show the greatest number of examples of the change of *a* to *ĕ*. The intermediate step of the change from *a* to *ĕ* is shown by the change of *a* to *ä* in Siṁhalese, or by the Marāṭhī *ăi* developed from Indian *a* (the reverse of the Panjābī change of Old Indian *āi* to *a*).

Skt. *āścarya* 'wonderful,' Prāk. *acchēra*, *accharia*, *acchaara*, *acchariija*, Pāli *accharia*, *acchēra*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *acaraj*. Skt. *śayyā* 'bed,' Prāk. *sejjā*, Pāli *seyyā*, Hindī *sēj*, Mar. *śēj*. Skt. *trayōdaśa* 'thirteen,' Prāk. *tēraha*, Pāli *tēdasa*, *tērasa*, *tēlasa*, Kaśm. *truvāh*, Uṛ., Bang. *tēraha*, Bihārī, Hindī *tērah*, W. Hindī *tērā*, Panj. *tērāṁ*, Sindhī *tērahaṁ*, Guj. *tēr*, Mar. *tērā*, Siṁh. *teles*. Skt. *phalgu* 'empty,' Pāli *pheggu*. Skt. *sandhi* 'burglar's mine,' Prāk., Pāli *sandhi*, Ass. *sindhi*, Kaśm. *san*, Uṛ., Bang. *sindh*, E. Hindī *sēṁh*, Hindī *sēṁdh*, Panj. *sannh*, Sindhī *sēṁdhi*, Mult. *sandh*. Skt. *laharī* 'wave,' Hindī *lahar*, Panj. *lahir*, Guj. *lēhēr*. Skt. *badhira* 'deaf,' Prāk. *bahira*, Hindī, Panj. *bahirā*, Guj. *bēhēr*, Siṁh. *bihira*. Skt. *kapāṭa* 'door,' Pāli *kavāṭa*, Uṛ., Bang. *kabāṭa*, Bihār. *kĕvār*(*ā*), Hindī, Panj., Mar. *kavāḍ*.

Skt. *aṣṭi* 'eight,' Prāk., Pāli *aṭṭha*, Kaśm., Uṛ., Bihārī, Hindī *āṭh*, Panj. *aṭṭh*, Sindhī *aṭh*, Guj., Mar. *āṭh*, Siṁh. *äṭa*. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Prāk., Pāli *majjha*, Ass. *māj*, Kaśm. *maṁz*, Uṛ. *majhi*, Bang. *mājh*, Hindī *majhi*, *māṁjh*, *maṁh*, Panj. *mäṁjh*, *majjh*, Sindhī *maṁjhi*, Mar. *mājh*, Siṁh. *mäda*, inscriptions *mända*. Skt., Prāk. *jana* 'person,' Siṁh. *dena*, *dana*.

Skt. *varəgana* 'egg-plant,' Uṛ. *bāigu*, Bang. *bēgun*, Hindī

băiṁgan, Panj. *băiñaṁ*, Mar. *băiṁgan*. Skt. *saptacatvariṁśat* 'forty-seven,' Kaśm. *satatājih*, Ur. *satcāliśa*, Bang. *śatcalīś*, Bihār., Hindī *săiṁtālis*, Panj. *saṁtālī*, Sindhī *satētālīh*, Guj. *sūḍtālīs*, Mar. *sattēcālīs*.

b. Iranian. The change of Indo-Iranian *a* to *ĕ* is very rare in the Iranian dialects, excepting in the Kurdish. In the Zaza dialect of the Kurdish the Iranian *a* is often pronounced *ăi*.

Samn. *dū* verbal prefix, Māz. *da*, Gīl. *da*, *dŭ*, *di*, Afγ. *da*, Kurd. *dē*, *da*, Oss. *d-*. Av. √*karəš* 'drag,' Phl. *kašīṭanŏ*, Afγ. *kšal*, Bal. *kašag*, N. Bal. *khašaγ*, Kurd. *kēšān*, *kišān*. Old Pers. *martiya* 'man,' Kurd. *mir*, *mēr*, etc. (see § 5). Av. *xšvašti* 'sixty,' New Pers. *šašt*, *šast*, Afγ. *špēta*, Kurd. *šašt*. Av. *taršti* 'flight,' Afγ. *tēšta*. Av. *x*ᵛaŋhar* 'sister,' Phl., New Pers. *x*ᵛāhar*, Wāxī *xʷui*, Sarq. *yaxʷ*, Sangl. *ixʷva*, Minj. *yaxʷva*, Afγ. *xōr*, Bal. *gvahār*, Kurd. *xōh*, *xūha*, Zaza *vai*, Oss. *xora*. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Phl. *(h)ašt*, New Pers. *hašt*, Wāxī *hāθ*, *hat*, Šiγ. *vašt*, Sarq. *voxt*, Rōš. *hašt*, Sangl. *hāt*, Minj. *aška*, Yaγn. *uxs*, Afγ. *ata*, Zaza *haišt*, Oss. *asth*.

a > *ŏ*.

§ 9. This change, like the preceding one, is not of frequent occurrence either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. It is well known that the common pronunciation of an original *a* approaches *ŏ* in Assamese, Uriya, and Bangālī. The change of *a* to *o* is most common in Uriya and Bangālī, and in Siṁhalese it often occurs near *l* developed from a cerebral or dental.

Skt. *badura* 'jujube tree,' Prāk. *vōra*, Pāli *badara*, Ur. *bara* (pron. *bŏrŏ*), Bang. *baïr*, Hindī, Panj. *bāir*, *bēr*, Sindhī *bēru*, *bēri*, Guj., Mar. *bōr*. Skt. *sammarṣa* 'confusion,' Pāli *sammōsa*. Skt. *varkara* 'goat,' Mar. *bōkar*, etc. (see § 3). Skt. *śmaśru* 'moustache,' Prāk. *māsu*, *massu*, *maṁsu*, Pāli *massu*, Ass. *mōc*, Ur., Bang., Bihār. *mōṁch*, Hindī *mūch*, Panj. *mucch*, Sindhī *much*, Guj. *mūch*. Skt. *cakṣu* 'eye,' Prāk., Pāli *cakkhu*, Bang. *cōkh*, *cāukh*. Skt. *cañcu* 'beak,' Bang. *cōṁṭha*, Hindī, Mar.

cōṅc. Skt. *ēkādaśa* 'eleven,' Prāk. *ēāraha*, Pāli *ēkādasa*, Kaśm. *kāh*, Uṛ., Bang. *ēgāra*, E. Hindī *ĕgyārah*, Hindī *igārah*, *gyārah*, Panj. *giāraṁ*, Sindhī *ikārahaṁ*, *yārahaṁ*, Guj. *agiār*, Mar. *akarā*. Skt. *pṛth(i)vī* 'earth,' Prāk. *puḍhavī*, *puha(v)ī*, Pāli *paṭhavī*, *pathavī*, Old Hindī *puhumi*, Siṁh. *polava*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maδu* 'mead,' Phl., New Pers. *mai*, Kurd. *mōt*, Oss. *mud*, *mid*. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *ars*, Kāš. *asl*, Māz. *asr*, Afγ. *ōša*, Bal. *als*. Av. *panca* 'five,' Phl. *panc*, New Pers. *panj*, Wāxī *pānz*, Šiγ., Sarq. *pinz*, Sangl. *pānz*, Minj. *panc*, Yidg. *pānš*, Samn. *punj*, Afγ. *pinǰa*, Kurd. *panj*, *pēnj*, Oss. *fonj*. Skt. √*dam* 'tame,' New Pers. *dām* 'domestic animal,' Oss. *domun* 'to tame.'

a > *au*.

§ 10. This change is excessively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *cakṣu* 'eye,' Bang. *cōkh*, *cāukh*, etc. (see preceding §, a).

b. Iranian. Av. *pacata* 'cooked,' Phl. *puxtanŏ*, New Pers. *puxtan*, Wāxī *pŏcam*, Gab. *paxtmūn*, Kāš. *patēn*, Māz. *paxta*, Afγ. *paxavul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phašaγ*, Kurd. *pātin*, Zaza *paujana*, Oss. *fičun*.

Aphaeresis of a.

§ 11. The loss of an initial *a* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is not uncommon.

a. Indian. Aphaeresis of *a* in the Indian dialects is especially frequent when the initial vowel is unaccented and is followed by an accented syllable.

Skt. *alaṁkāra* 'adornment,' Prāk. *alaṁkāra*, *alaṁkia*, Pāli *laṁkāra*, Eḷu *lakara*. Skt. *adhas* 'below,' Prāk. *heṭṭha*, Pāli *heṭṭhā*, Uṛ., Bang. *hēṭha*, Sindhī *hēṭhē*, Guj. *hēṭhē*, Mar. *hēṭ*. Skt. *avatrāṇa* 'rescue,' Uṛ. *bacāībā*, Bang. *bācān*, Hindī *bacāṁnā*, Mar. *vacāviṇēṁ*. Skt. *araṇya* 'forest,' Mahār. Prāk. *raṇṇa*, Śaur. Prāk. *araṇṇa*, Pāli *araññā*, Old Hindī *raṁj*, Hindī *ran*,

Sindhī *riṅ*, *riṇu*, Guj., Mar. *rāṇ*, Siṁh. *raṇa*. Skt. *amātya* 'minister,' Prāk., Pāli *amacca*, Siṁh. *māti*. Skt., Pāli *atasī* 'linseed,' Kaśm. *aliś*, Uṛ. *tēsī*, Bang. *tiśī*, Hindī *tīsī*, *alsī*. Skt. *aśōka* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *asōa*, Pāli *asōka*, Siṁh. *hō*. Skt. *anurāga* 'love,' Prāk. *aṇurāa*, Siṁh. *nurā*. Skt. *avaṭa* 'ditch,' Siṁh. *vaḷa*.

b. Iranian. In New Persian it is a law that initial *a* before a single consonant is dropped.

Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angušt*, Wāxī *yangl*, Šiy. *angašt*, Sarq. *ungaxt*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Sīv. *gus*, Vōn. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, Afγ. *gūta*, Oss. *angursth*, cf. also New Pers. *anguštar* 'ring,' Kurd. *gustir*. Av. *asəṇga* 'stone,' Old Pers. *aθagaina*, Phl., New Pers. *sang*. Av., Old Pers. *azdā* 'knowledge,' Afγ. *zda*. Av. *apąs* 'open,' Phl. *apāc*, *apāj*, Pāz. *awāš*, *awāz*, New Pers. *bāz*, Wāxī *vāz*, Sarq. *vūz*, Bal. *pac*, Kurd. *vāšī*. Av. *ahmāka* 'ours,' Old Pers. *amāxam* 'of us,' Pāz. *ēmā*, New Pers. *mā*, Oss. *max*. Av. *apərənāyu* 'boy,' Phl. *apurnāyak*, New Pers. *burnā*, *barnā*, Afγ. *vōr*. Av., Old Pers. *asman* 'heaven,' Phl., New Pers. *āsmān*, Gab. *asbān*, Māz. *samā*, Bal. *āsmān*, N. Bal. *aśmān*.

Syncope of a.

§ 12. The syncope of internal *a* is found occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Syncope of Indo-Iranian *a* is quite rare in the New Indian dialects, and it is rarer still in the Middle Indian period. Entire syncope of an original *a* is often preceded by the weakening of *a* to the so-called 'neutral vowel' *ə*, in case *a* is unaccented but is preceded or followed by an accented syllable.

Skt. *pūgaphala* 'areca-nut,' Prāk. *popphala* < **púgphala*, Guj. *pōphaḷ*, Mar. *pōphal*. Skt. *jāgarati* 'watches,' Prāk. *jaggai*, Pāli *jaggati*, Uṛ. *jāganā*, Bang. *jāgitē*, Sindhī *jāgaṇu*, Guj. *jāgarum*, Mar. *jāgaṇēm*. Skt. *durbala* 'weak,' Prāk., Pāli *dubbala*, Bang. *dublā*, Bihārī *dubarà*, *dūbar*, Hindī *dublā*, Sindhī *ḍubirō*, *ṛabalō*, Guj.

dubaḷ(a), Mar. *dubaḷ*. Skt. *cāmara* 'fly-whisk,' Prāk., Pāli *cāmara*, Bang. *camrā*, Hindī *cāũrī*, Mar. *cāmar*, *cāurī*, Anglo-Ind. *chowry*.

b. Iranian. Syncope of Indo-Iranian *a* is more common in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

Av. *yazatanąm* 'of the angels,' Phl. *yazd̰ān*, *yazdān*, New Pers. *yazdān* 'God.' Av. *paθana* 'broad,' Phl. *pahn(āī)*, Afγ. *plān*, Bal. *patan*, Kurd. *pān*, Oss. *fathan*. Av. *axšaēna* 'blue,' Phl., New Pers. *xašīn*, Afγ. *šīn* but fem. *šna*, Kurd. *(ha)šīn*, Oss. *axsinag*. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Phl. *namāc*, Pāz. *namāš*, New Pers. *namāz*, Afγ. *nmunǰ*, Bal. *namāš*, *navāš*, Kurd. *nimī(ž)*, *namūž*, *namēž*. Av. *vīsaiti* 'twenty,' Phl. *vīst*, New Pers. *bīst*, Kāš. *vīstā*, *vīs(sā)*, Afγ. *vīšt*, Bal. *gīst*.

Apocope of a.

§ 13. The apocope of Indo-Iranian *a* is a very frequent phenomenon in the New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. The Middle Indian dialects retain the final *a* unchanged. In the New Indian the final *a* of the Old and Middle Indian dialects is dropped unless it bears the accent. If final *a* is accented it is lengthened in Hindī. In Uṛ. and Bang. on the other hand final *a* is often pronounced.

Skt. *mudgara* 'club,' Prāk., Pāli *moggara*, Uṛ. *mōgarā*, Bang. *mugura*, Hindī *mūgarā*, *mōgarā*, Sindhī *muñirō*, Guj., Mar. *mōgar*. Skt. *satya* 'true,' Prāk., Pāli *sacca*, Uṛ., Bang. *sacā*, Braj *sāṁc*, Hindī *sac*, Panj. *sacc*, Sindhī *sacō*, Guj., Mar. *sac*. Skt. *trayōdaśa* 'thirteen,' Prāk. *tēraha*, Pāli *tēdasa*, *tērasa*, *tēlasa*, Kaśm. *truvāh*, Uṛ., Bang. *tēraha*, Bihārī, Hindī *tērah*, W. Hindī *tērā*, Panj. *tērāṁ*, Sindhī *tērahaṁ*, Guj. *tēr*, Mar. *tērā*, Siṁh. *teles*.

b. Iranian. The Middle Iranian dialects, unlike the Middle Indian, do not retain original final *a*. The New Iranian dialects follow the Middle Iranian in this regard, but the Digaurian Ossetish often retains the final *a* unchanged.

Av. *darəγa* 'long,' Old Pers. *darga*, Phl. *darg*, Afγ. *lāryа*, Kurd., Oss. *darg*. Old Pers. *tigra* 'sharp,' Phl. *tēǰ*, Pāz. *tēž*,

New Pers. *tēz*, Wāxī *tiz*, Sarq. *taiz*, Kurd. *tiž(ī)*. Av. *sarəδa* 'year,' Phl., New Pers. *sāl*, Dig. Oss. *sarda*, Tag. *sard*. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum* 'tenth,' New Pers. *dah* 'ten,' Wāxī *δas*, *las*, Šiγ. *δīs*, *līs*, Sarq. *δas*, Sangl., Yaγn. *das*, Afγ. *las*, Oss. *das*.

Prothesis of a.

§ 14. Prothesis of *a* is not found in the Middle period either of the Indian or of the Iranian dialects. In New Indian the colloquial Hindī prefixes *a* to words beginning with a consonant-group whose first member is *s*. In the New Persian prothesis is one of the most common phenomena, since in that language no word may begin with a consonant-group. Prothesis of *a* is also quite common in Balūcī.

a. Indian. Skt. *snāna* 'bath,' colloquial Hindī *asnān*. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' colloquial Hindī *asthān*. Skt. *strī* 'woman,' colloquial Hindī *astrī* or *istrī* (see below, § 36).

This prothesis is also found in foreign loan-words, such as Eng. *school*, colloquial Hindī *askūl*, *iskūl*.

b. Iranian. Av. *brvaṯ* 'brow,' Phl. *brū*, New Pers. *abrū*, Wāxī *varao*, Šiγ. *vruγ*, Sarq. *varao*, Sangl. *vurij*, Gab. *burā*, Afγ. *vrūja*, Bal. *burvān*, *birvān*, Kurd. *burū*, *burī*, Dig. Oss. *arfuk*, Tag. *arfig*. Av. *stārə* 'star,' Phl. *stārak*, New Pers. *sitārah*, Afγ. *stōrai*, Bal. *astār*, *istār*, Kurd. *istirk*, Oss. *stali*. Av., Old Pers. *brātar* 'brother,' Phl. *brāṯar*, New Pers. *birādar*, Wāxī *vrūt*, Šiγ. *vrod*, *virād*, Sarq. *vrōd*, Afγ. *vrōr*, Bal. *brāt*, Kurd. *barā*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*.

ā = ā.

§ 15. Indo-Iranian *ā* is generally retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects of all periods.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhārayati* 'holds,' Pāli *dhāreti*. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindī *bāgh*, Sindhī *vāghu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāiδi* 'canal,' Wāxī *vāδ*, Šiγ. *vēδ*, Sarq. *vāδ*.

Av. *pāδa* 'foot,' Phl. *pāī*, New Pers. *pāi*, Wāxī *pūδ*, Šiγ. *pāδ*, Sangl. *pud*, Gīl. *pō*, Tāt *pā*, Bal. *pād*, N. Bal. *phāδ*, *phāg*, Av. *gātu* 'place,' Old Pers. *gāθu*, Phl. *gās*, New Pers. *gāh*, Afγ. *γālai*. Av. *ahmāka* 'ours,' Old Pers. *amāxam* 'of us,' New Pers., Kurd. *mā*, Oss. *max*.

ā > *a*.

§ 16. The shortening of an original *ā* is the most frequent change of all those to which this sound is subject, whether in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects. It is well known that the doubling of an original single consonant or the retention of an original consonant-group causes a preceding long vowel to become short in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. Beside the regular shortening of original *ā* under the conditions just described there are numerous instances of sporadic shortening of original *ā*.

a. Indian. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindī *bāgh*, Sindhī *vāgh*. Skt. *mārgaśira* 'November-December,' Apab. Prāk. *maggasiru*, Pāli *māgasira*, *maggasira*. Skt. *upasthāpitva* 'having established,' Gāthā *upasthapitva*. Skt. *dēvālaya* 'temple,' Ur. *dēula*, Bang., Hindī *dēval*, Panj. *dēvālā*, Sindhī *dēvalī*, Guj. *dēval*, Mar. *dēval*, *dēūl*. Skt. *mārga* 'road,' Apab. Prāk. *maggu*, Pāli *magga*, Hindī *mag*, *māṁgā*, Sindhī *māgu*, other New Ind. dialects *māg*. Skt. *mahārgha* 'costly,' Pāli *mahaggha*, Ass. *mahaṁga*, Nāip. *mahaṁgō*, E. Hindī, Hindī *mahaṁgā*, Panj. *mahiṁgā*, Sindhī *mahaṁgō*, Guj. *mōṁghuṁ*, Mar. *mahāg*. Skt. *khādati* 'eats,' Prāk. *khāi*, Pāli *khādati*, Nāip. *khaïbōṁ*, Kaśm. *khyun*, Ur. *khānā*, Bang. *khāitē*, Sindhī *khāiṇu*, Guj. *khāvuṁ*, Mar. *khāṇēṁ*, Siṁh. *kanavā*, Gyp. *cha*. Skt. *bhāginēya* 'sister's son,' Māhār. Prāk. *bhāgiṇejja*, Pāli *bhāgiṇeyya*, Siṁh. *bāhānā*, *bānā*. Skt. *grāma* 'village,' Prāk., Pāli *gāma*, Ur., Bang. *gām*, Hindī *gāṁv*, Sindhī *gāmu*, *gā(ṁ)u*, Guj. *gām*, Mar. *gāṁv*, Siṁh. *gāmi*, Gyp. *gav*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kahrkāsa* 'vulture,' Phl. *kahrkās*, *kargās*, New Pers. *kargas*. Av. *yāna* 'path,' New Pers. *yān*, Afγ. *yūn*.

Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Phl. *rōpās*, *rōbās*, New Pers. *rōbāh*, Sarq. *rapč*, Käš. *rūvās*, Tāl. *rvōs*, N. Bal. *ropḥask*, Kurd. *rūvi*, Dig. Oss. *robas*, Tag. *rūbas*. Skt. *ābhā* 'glory' + *tāpa* 'heat,' New Pers. *āftāb* 'sun,' Šiγ., Sarq. *aftav*, Kurd. *ātaf*, So *axtāv*, *ataf*, *adav*, Bohtan *tāv*. Av. *spāδa* 'army,' Phl. *spāh*, New Pers. *sipāh*, Dig. Oss. *afsād*, Tag. *afsad*. Phl., New Pers. *ārd* 'meal,' Casp. dialects *ōr*, Näy. *ar*, Afγ. *ōṛa*.

ā > *ĭ*.

§ 17. The change of *ā* to *ĭ* occurs very rarely.

b. Iranian. Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Kurd. *rūvi*, etc. (see preceding §). Phl., New Pers. *darmān* 'medicine,' Šiγ., Sarq. *darmīn*. Old Pers. *amānaya* 'remained,' Phl., Pāz., New Pers. *māndan*, Kurd. *mīnim* 'I remain.'

ā > *ŭ*.

§ 18. The change of *ā* to *ŭ* is excessively rare in the Middle and New Indian dialects. In the New Persian and its dialects as well as in numerous sporadic instances in the other Iranian dialects *ā* is changed to *ū* before *m* and *n*, as *ē* is changed to *ī* under the same circumstances (see § 89).

a. Indian. Skt. *karpāsa* 'cotton,' Uṛ. *kapā*, Bang. *kāpās*, Hindī *kapās*, Panj. *kapaḥ*, Sindhī *kapāh*, Guj., Mar. *kāpūs*, Siṁh. *kapu*. Skt. *sāsnā* 'paunch,' Prāk. *suṇhā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *zānu* 'knee,' Phl. *zānūk*, New Pers. *zānū*, Wāxī *zān*, Sarq. *zūn*, Sangl. *zong*, Judaeo-Pers. *zūnī*, *zānī*, Afγ. *zangum*, Bal. *zān*, Kurd. *zāna*. Av. *rāna* 'thigh,' Phl., New Pers. *rān*, Šiγ. *rūn*, Afγ. *vrūn*. Phl. *yāmak*, *jāmak* 'robe,' New Pers. *jāmah*, Näy. *yūmu*, Kurd. *yūma*. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl., New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxī *čalur*, Šiγ. *čavor*, *čavar*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safur*, Minj. *cafīr*, Yidg. *cīr*, Afγ. *čalōr*, Kurd. (Sihna) *cavār*, Dig. Oss. *čuphphar*, Tag. *čiphphar*. Av. *tərəṣaiti* 'fears,' Old Pers. *tarsatiy*, Phl. *tarsīṭanŏ*, New Pers. *tarsān* 'cowardly,' Bal. *trusag*, N. Bal. *tursaγ*, Kurd. *tarsunak*, Oss. *tharsun*.

ā > *ĕ*.

§ 19. The change of *ā* to *ĕ* is one of excessive rarity both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. In Assamese and colloquial Bangālī the change of *ā* to *ĕ* is not infrequent.

Skt. *mātra* 'measure,' Prāk. *metta*, Pāli *matta*. Skt. *sthāpayati* 'establishes,' Mar. *ṭhēvaṇēṁ*. Skt. *āśā* 'hope,' Mahār. Prāk. *āsā*, Ass. *ēsā*, *āsā*. Skt. *rātrĭ* 'night,' Prāk. *ratti*, *rāt*, Pāli *ratti*, Uṛ., Bang., Bihār. *rāt*(*i*), Hindī *rāt*, Panj. *ratt*, *rāt*, Sindhī *rāti*, Guj., Mar. *rāt*, Siṁh. *rā*, *rāya*. Skt., Pāli *ālōka* 'appearance,' Siṁh. *eliya*, *alu*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *tēv* 'strength,' beside *tāv*. Phl. *vĕcār* 'market-place,' New Pers. *bāzār*, Gab. *vijār*, Kāš. *bōzōr*, *vōjōr*, Kurd. *bāzēr*, Eng. loan-word *bazaar*.

ā > *ŏ*.

§ 20. The change of *ā* to *ŏ* seems not to be found in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is not infrequent. The change is especially frequent in Māzandarānī and Tālish, and in Afγān *ā* regularly becomes *ō*, excepting before nasals, where the change is to *ū* (cf. § 18 above). It is also to be noted that in New Persian itself the pronunciation of *ā* often tends to approach the value of *ō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Phl. *vāt*, New Pers. *bād*, Gab. *vād*, Sīv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Vōn., Kuhr., Nāy. *vōd*, Nat. *vād*, Māz. *vā*, Tāt *vār*, Afγ. *vo*, Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāθ*, *gvās*, Kurd. *bā*, *vāi*, Tag. Oss. *vād*. New Pers. (dialectic) *māng* 'moon,' Gab. *mām*, Māz. *mūng*, Gīl. *mām*, Tāl. *mōng*, Tāt *mang*, Kurd. *māng*. Av. *ăp* 'water,' Phl. *āp*, Pāz. *āw*, New Pers. *āb*, *āv*, Wāxī *yapak*, *yupk*, Minj. *yaoγa*, Yidg. *yovγ*, Yaγn. *ap*, Gab. *ō*, Sīv. *au*, *av*, Yazdī *vō*, Kāš. *āv*, Nāy. *āō*, Nat. *au*, Samn. *ō*, Māz. *ō*(*u*), Gīl., Tāl., Tāt *ōv*, Afγ. *ōba*, Bal. *āp*, N. Bal. *āf*, Kurd. *āv*. Av. *nąman* 'name,' Old Pers. *nāman*, Phl., New Pers. *nām*, Wāxī

nung, Māz. *nūm*, Gīl. *nōm*, Afγ. *nūm*, Bal. *nām*, Dig. Oss. *non*, Tag. *nom*.

Aphaeresis of ā.

§ 21. The aphaeresis of *ā* is not uncommon in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *ātarš* 'fire,' New Pers. *ātaš*, *taš*, *ātiš*, Šiγ. *yač*, Sarq. *yuč*, Gab. *taš*, Mjnj. *yūr*, etc. (see § 3). Av. *āyapta* 'reward,' Phl. *(ā)yāftan*, New Pers. *yāftan*, Dig. Oss. *yāfun*, Tag. *yāfin*.

Apocope of ā.

§ 22. The apocope of original *ā* is similar to the apocope of the corresponding short vowel (see § 13, a).

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *chāyā* 'shadow,' Hindī *chāṁ(v)*, *chāṁh*, *chāōṁ*, Panj. *chāṁ*, *chāūṁ*, Sindhī *chāṁ(v)*, Guj. *chāṁy*. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prāk., Pāli *niddā*, Hindī, Panj. *nīṁd*, Sindhī *nimṛ*, Guj. *niṁdd*, Mar. *nīd*. Skt. *dūrvā* 'grass,' Pāli *dubbā*, Uṛ., Bang. *dūba*, Hindī *dūb*.

Anaptyxis of ā.

§ 23. The anaptyxis of *ā* is an excessively rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Av. *mat-patifrasa* 'with recompense,' Phl. *pat-fras*, Pāz. *pādafrāh*, New Pers. *pādāfrah*, *pādafrah*.

i = *i*.

§ 24. Indo-Iranian *i* is generally retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Skt. *iva* 'as,' Prāk. *via*, Pāli *iva*. Skt. *vidyut* 'lightning,' Prāk., Pāli *vijju*, Uṛ. *bijuli*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *bijali*, Sindhī *vijuṁ*, Guj. *vijuḷī*, Mar. *bijalī*, *vīj*.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *pitar* 'father,' Phl. *piṭ(ar)*, New Pers. *pidar*, Kāš. *paī*, Šiγ., Sarq. *pid*. Av. *ciṭ* 'what,' Old Pers. *ciy*, Pāz., New Pers. *cih*, Afγ. *ca*, Kurd. *cī*, *ca*, *cē*, Dig. Oss. *ci*, *či*, Tag. *či*. Av. *ištya* 'brick,' Phl., New Pers. *xišt*, Bal. *išt*, *ūt*.

i > *a*.

§ 25. The change of *i* to *a* is quite common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In Indian the phenomenon occurs most frequently in Panjābī, Sindhī, and above all in Gujarātī. See now Pischel, *Gramm. der Prākrit-Sprachen*, § 115.

a. Indian. Skt. *haridrā* 'turmeric,' Prāk. *haladdā*, *haladdī*, Pāli *haliddā*, also Kaśm. *lidir*, *lidar*, Ur. *haldī*, Bang. *haluda*, Bihārī, Hindī *haldī*, Panj. *haldhī*, Guj. *haḷad*, Mar. *haḷaddā*. Skt. *iti* 'thus,' Prāk. *tti*, *ia*, Pāli *iti*. Skt. *śithila* 'loose,' Prāk. *sadhila*, *siḍhila*, Pāli *sithila*, *saṭhila*, Ass. *ḍhil*, Nāip. *ḍhīlō*, Ur. *ḍhĭla*, Bang. *ḍhĭla*, *ḍhala*, Bihārī *ḍhīlā*, E. Hindī *ḍhal*, Hindī *ḍhīlā*, Panj. *ḍhīlō*, *ḍhirō*, Sindhī *ḍharō*, *ḍhirō*, *ḍhilō*, Guj. *ḍhīlum*, Mar. *saḍhaḷ*, *ḍhilā*. Skt., Pāli *kaṭhina* 'difficult,' Ur., Bang., Hindī *kaṭhin*, Panj. *kaṭhan*, Sindhī *kaṭanu*, Guj. *kaṭhaṇ*, Mar. *kaḍhīṇ*. Skt. *garbhiṇī* 'pregnant,' Prāk. *gabbhiṇī*, Pāli *gabbhinī*, Bang. *gābhiṇa* (vulg. *gabna*), Hindī *gābhin*, Panj. *garabhaṇ*, Sindhī *gābhinī*, Guj., Mar. *gābhaṇ*. Skt. *divasa* 'day,' Prāk. *divaha*, *diaha*, Śaur. *divasa*, Pāli *divasa*, Mar. *divasa*, Old Siṁh. *divasa*, Siṁh. *davasa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *zimō* 'of winter,' Phl. New Pers. *zam*, Tāl. *zumistān*, Wāxī *zam*, Šiy. *zimj*, Sarq. *zamān*, Afy. *zimai*, Kurd. *zavistān*, Dig. Oss. *zumag*, Tag. *zimag*. Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Phl. *spiš*, *spuš*, New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *špuš*, Wāxī *šiš*, Sarq. *spal*, Afy. *spaža*, Kurd. *sipi*, Oss. *sisth*. Av. *hizva* 'tongue,' Phl. *(h)uzvān*, *zuvān*, New Pers. *zabān*, *zubān*, Gab. *izvān*, Wāxī *zik*, Šiy. *zav*, Sarq. *ziv*, Afy. *žiba*, Bal. *zimān*, Kurd. *azmān*, *zumān*, Oss. *avzag*.

i > *ā*.

§ 26. The change of *i* to *ā* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Prāk., Pāli *ucchū*, Ur. *ākhu*, *ūkha*, *īkha*, Bang. *āku*, Hindī *īkh*, *ūkh*, Guj., Mar. *ūs*, Siṁh. *iṁgu*, *uk*.

i > *u*.

§ 27. The change of *i* to *u* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. The change of *i* to *u* is particularly frequent in unaccented syllables in Uṛiya and Bangālī.

Skt. *rājila* 'lizard,' Pāli *rājula*. Skt. *iṣu* 'arrow,' Jāina Prāk., Pāli *usu*. Skt., Pāli *bindu* 'drop,' Uṛ., Bang. *bindī*, Hindī, Panj. *bũnd*, *bind*, Sindhī *būmd*, *bumṛō*, *bimṛī*, Guj. *bũnd*, *vindu*, Mar. *bindī*, *bũnd*, Siṁh. *poḍa*. Skt. *gairika* 'red chalk,' Uṛ. *gēru*, Hindī *gērū*, Guj. *gēru*, Mar. *gērū*. Skt. *tintiḍī* 'tamarind,' Ass. *tēṁtēli*, Nāip. *titri*, Uṛ. *tēṁtulī*, *tēṁtulī*, Bang. *tē(ṁ)tul*. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Siṁh. *iṁgu*, *uk*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. The change of *i* to *u* is especially common in the Digaurish dialect of the Ossetish.

New Pers. *mušah* 'eyelash,' beside *mižah*, Gab. *mujang*, Kāš. *maja*, *muja*, *maža*, Bal. *micāc*, N. Bal. *mišāš*, Kurd. *mižānk*, *mižī*. Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Phl. *spiš*, *spuš*, New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *šapuš*, etc. (see § 25). Av. *zimō* 'of winter,' Tāl. *zumistān*, Dig. Oss. *zumag*, etc. (see § 25). Av. *hizva* 'tongue,' Phl. (*h*)*uzvān*, *zuvān*, New Pers. *zabān*, *zubān*, etc. (see § 25).

i > *ī*.

§ 28. The lengthening of *i* to *ī* is due in the majority of cases to compensatory lengthening, as in the case of *ā* developed from *a* (see § 5). The phenomenon occurs both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *siṁha* 'lion,' Prāk. *sīha*, Gāthā *sīṁha*, Kaśm. *suh*, Bihārī, E. Hindī *sĩṁgh*, *sīṁh*, *siṁgh*, Panj. *siṁgh*, other New Indian dialects *siṁh*. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prāk. *jīhā*, *jibbhā*, Pāli *jihvā*, Ass. *jibā*, Nāip. *jibrō*, Kaśm. *zēo*, Sindhī *jībh*, Siṁh. *diva*, Maladive *dū*, other New Indian dialects *jībh*. Skt. *āupaśivi*, nom. prop., Pāli *upasīva*. Skt. *viṁśati* 'twenty,' Prāk. *vīsaï*, Pāli *vīsaṁ*, *vīsati*, Kaśm. *vuh*, Bang. *bīśa*, Hindī *bīs*, Panj. *bīh*, Sindhī *vīh*, Guj., Mar. *vīs*. Skt. *bhaginī* 'sister,'

Prāk. *bahiṇī*, Pāli *bhaginī*, Ur. *bhāuṇī*, *bhaüṇī*, Bang. *bhaïn*, Hindī *bahin*, Panj. *bhāiṇ*, *bāiṁh*, Sindhī *bhēṇu*, Guj. *bēhēn*, Mar. *bahīṇ*.

b. Iranian. Av. *huciθra* 'beautiful,' Phl. *hucihr*, New Pers. *huzīr*, *hujīr*, *xujīr*, Av. *vicinōiṯ* 'gathered,' Phl. *cīṯanŏ*, New Pers. *cīdan*, Bal. *cinag*, N. Bal. *chinay*, Kurd. *cinin*. Skt. *kapiñjala* 'partridge,' Bal. *kapīnjar*, N. Bal. *khavinjar*. Av. *ištya* 'brick,' Phl., New Pers. *xišt*, Bal. *išt*, *īt*. Old Pers. *ciščiy* 'something,' New Pers. *cīz*, Kurd. *tišt*.

i > *ū*.

§ 29. The change of *i* to *ū* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Ur. *ākhu*, *īkha*, *ūkha*, Hindī *īkh*, *ūkh*, Guj., Mar. *ūs*, etc. (see § 26).

i > *ĕ*.

§ 30. The change of *i* to *e*, *ē* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects, but it is exceedingly rare in the Iranian dialects, where a few cases of the compensatory lengthening of *i* to *ē* are found. In the Indian dialects the change appears most frequently before double consonants in Middle Indian (consequently the *e* in such cases is short). Of the New Indian dialects the Gujarātī presents the greatest number of examples of this change, which is, on the whole, more common in the West of India than in the East.

a. Indian. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prāk. *ṇeddā*, *ṇiddā*. Skt. *kirāṭa* 'hypocrite,' Pāli *kēraṭika*, *kērāṭiya*. Skt. *dvibhāga* 'two-fold,' Pāli *dvēbhāga*. Skt. *tintiḍī* 'tamarind,' Ass. *tēṁtēli*, Ur. *tēṁtuḷī*, *tēṁtulī*, Bang. *tē(ṁ)tul*, etc. (see § 27). Skt. *sindūra* 'vermilion,' Prāk. *sendūra*, Pāli *sindūra*, Ass. *sendur*, *sindur*, Bang. *sindur*, Bihārī *sēnur*, Hindī *sēṁdūr*, Sindhī *sindhuru*, Guj. *sindūr*, Mar. *sēṁdūr*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *ciy* 'what,' Kurd. *cē*, *cī*, *ca*, etc. (see § 24). New Pers. *gišniz* 'coriander,' Bal. *gēnīc*.

Aphaeresis of i.

§ 31. Aphaeresis of original *i* is very rare in the Indian dialects. The Tagaurish dialect of the Ossetish presents several instances of the aphaeresis of *i* which has become initial after the loss of original initial consonants.

a. Indian. Skt. *idānīṁ* 'now,' Prāk., Pāli *dāni(ṁ)*.

[b. Iranian. Av. *vīsaiti* 'twenty,' Phl. *vīstī*, New Pers. *bīst*, Kāš. *vīstā*, *vīs(sā)*, Wāxī *vīst*, Sarq. *vist*, Bal. *gīst*, Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaj*. Av. *hištaiti* 'stands,' Dig. Oss. *isthun*, Tag. *sthin*.]

Syncope of i.

§ 32. The syncope of *i* is excessively rare. Possibly the loss of a final *i* in a word which is made the first member of a compound may be considered here.

b. Iranian. Av. *zairi-gaona* 'having a golden colour,' New Pers. *zaryūn*, Afγ. *zaryūn*.

Apocope of i.

§ 33. Apocope of *i* is common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dṛṣṭi* 'sight,' Prāk., Pāli *diṭṭhi*, Hindī *dīṭhi*, *dīṭh*, *ḍīṭh*, Panj. *ḍiṭṭh*, Sindhī *ḍiṭi*, Mar. *dīṭh*. Skt. *vyakti* 'person,' Hindī *bikat*.

b. Iranian. Av. *haca* 'from' + *aδairi* 'beneath,' Pāz. *aẖēr*, New Pers. *zēr*, Afγ. *lar*, Kurd. *žīr*, Tag. Oss. *dala*.

Prothesis of i.

§ 34. Prothetic *i* is excessively rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is quite common, especially before initial consonant-groups whose first component is a sibilant.

a. Indian. Skt. *strī* 'woman,' Prāk., Pāli *itthī*, *thī*, Gāthā *istrī*, colloquial Hindī *istrī*, *astrī*, Sindhī *istrī*, Eḷu *itiri*, Siṁh. *istrī*.

b. Iranian. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Phl. *spēt*, New Pers. *sipēd*, *ispēd*, Zaf. *söbō*, Kāš. *asbēd*, Kuhr. *asbē*, Sarq. *spaid*, Yidg. *spī*, Afγ. *spīn*, *spēra*, Kurd. *ispī*, *spī*. Skt. *sṛgāla* 'jackal,' Phl., New Pers. *šaγāl*, Šiγ., Sarq. *iškāl*, Afγ. *caγāl*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Phl., New Pers. *gōš*, Wāxī *γūš*, *γiš*, Afγ. *γoaγ*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*, but Dig. *iγosun* 'to hear,' Tag. *qūsin*. Skt. *aṅga* 'limb,' Dig. Oss. *ion*, Tag. *on*. [Hübschmann considers the *i* in these cases to be original in the Oss., but he thinks that the Tag. dialect has lost the *i*, rather than that the Dig. shows a prothetic *i*.]

ī = ī.

§ 35. Indo-Iranian ī is generally preserved without change both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In Assamese no character for ī exists, *i* being written instead. The Old Hindī often writes *iy* for ī (Skt. *jīva* 'life,' Old Hindī *jiyava*). The New Persian, as is well known, has confused in many words the *majhūl* ('unknown [to the Arabs]'=Persian sounds) vowels *ē*, *ō* with the *maʒrūf* ('known [to the Arabs]'=Arabic sounds) vowels ī, ū. The Judaeo-Persian and the Balūcī, like the Indian pronunciation of New Persian, maintain clearly the original distinction between the *majhūl* and the *maʒrūf* vowels.

a. Indian. Skt. *jīvita* 'life,' Prāk. *jīvia*, Pāli *jīvita*. Skt. *dīrgha* 'long,' Prāk. *dīha(ra)*, *diggha*, Pāli *dīgha*, Sindhī *ḍrighō*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Phl., New Pers. *šīr*, Šīr., Šiγ. *širin*, Minj. *xšīr*, Kurd. *šīr*, Oss. *axšir*. Av. *vīra* 'understanding,' Phl. *vīr(āk)*, New Pers. *vīr*, Gab. *vīr*, Bal. *gīr*, Kurd. *bīr*.

ī > a.

§ 36. The change of ī to *a* is an excessively rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhīṣma* 'terrible,' Pāli *bhasma*, *bhisma*. Skt. *parīkṣā* 'test,' Bang. *parakha*, *parakhā*, Hindī *parakhnā*, *parakhāiyā*, Panj. *parakhavuṁ*, *parakhanār*, Sindhī *pārakhia*, *parkhaṇu*, Mar. *parakhaṇēṁ*, *pārakhī*.

ī > i.

§ 37. The shortening of ī is naturally the most common change to which ī is subject. It occurs, however, with comparative infrequency in the Iranian dialects. For the principal conditions under which the change occurs see above under § 25.

a. Indian. Skt. *tīkṣṇa* 'sharp,' Prāk. *tiṇha*, *tikkha*, Pāli *tiṇha*, *tikkha*, *tikhiṇa*, New Indian dialects *tīkh*, except Panj., Sindhī, Guj. *tikh*. Skt. *īśvara* 'lord,' Prāk. *īsara*, Pāli *issara*, Hindī, Panj. *īsar*. Skt. *alīka* 'false,' Prāk. *alia*, Pāli *alika*. Skt. *dvitīya* 'second,' Prāk. *duia*, Uṛ. *dusra*, Old Hindī *dūjā*, Hindī *dūsarā*, Panj. *dū(j)ā*, Sindhī *bījō*, *bīō*, Guj. *bījō*, Mar. *dusarā*. Skt. *ga(m)bhīra* 'deep,' Prāk. *gahira*, Pāli *ga(m)bhīra*, Uṛ. *gahira*, Hindī *gahirā*, *gaharā*, Sindhī *gāhirā*. Skt. *kīla* 'pin,' Pāli *k(h)īla*, Uṛ. *kilā*, Hindī *killā*, Panj. *kill*, Sindhī *kilī*, Mar. *killā*. Skt. *kīṭa* 'worm,' Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *kīḍā*, Sindhī *kiḍō*, Guj. *kīḍō*, Mar. *kiḍā*, *kīḍ*. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Prāk. *sissa*, *sīsa*, Pāli *sīsa*, Hindī, Panj. *sīs*, Sindhī *sisī*, Guj. *śīś*, Mar. *śī(ṁ)s*, Siṁh. *iha*, *isa*, *his*, *sis*. Skt. *kīrti* 'fame,' Prāk., Pāli *kitti* Siṁh. *kit*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *jīvāhy* 'thou shalt live,' Phl. *zīvandak* 'living,' New Pers. *zindak*. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Šīr., Šiγ. *širin*, Oss. *axšir*, etc. (see § 35). Skt. *bīja* 'seed,' Bal. *bij*. New Pers. *kōhī* 'mountainous,' Kurd. *kōvi*.

ī > u.

§ 38. The change of ī to *u* is excessively rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jīra* 'cummin-seed,' Siṁh. *duru*. Skt. *pravāsin* 'sojourner,' Prāk. *pavāsŭ*.

b. Iranian. Av. *mīžda* 'reward,' Phl. *muzd*, Pāz. *mozd*, New Pers. *muzd*, *mužd*, Kurd., Oss. *mizd*.

ī > ā.

§ 39. The change of ī to ā is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *tiraścīna* 'going sideways,' Pāli *tiracchāna* 'animal.'

ī > ĕ.

§ 40. The change from ī to ĕ is not very common in the Middle Indian dialects, while in the New Indian and in the Iranian dialects it is still more rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kīdṛśa* 'what kind?' Prāk. *kērisa*, Apab. Prāk. *kēlu*, Sindhī *kēharō*, *kēru*. Skt. *nīḍa* 'nest,' Prāk. *neḍḍa*, *nīḍa*, Pāli *niḍḍha*, *nīḷa*. Skt. *gṛhītvā* 'having taken,' Pāli *gahetvā*. Skt. *krīḍa* 'sport,' Pāli *khēla*, Hindī *khelnā*, Gyp. *√khel* 'to dance.' Skt. *bhīma* 'fearful,' Siṁh. *bem*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *pīr* 'old,' New Pers. *pīr*, Judaeo-Pers. *pēr*, Bal. *pīrūk*, N. Bal. *phīrūk*.

ī > ŏ.

§ 41. The change of ī to ŏ is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tīrtha* 'landing-place,' Prāk. *tittha*, *tūha*, Pāli *tittha*, Sindhī *tīrthu*, Siṁh. *toṭa*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *zinjīr* 'chain,' Wāxī *zanzīr*, Šiy. *zinzir*, Sarq. *zanzair*, Bal. *zamzīl*, Kurd. *zanjōr*, *zanjīr*.

Apocope of ī.

§ 42. The apocope of final ī occurs in several New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *garbhiṇī* 'pregnant,' Hindī *gābhin*, Panj. *garabhaṇ*, Guj., Mar. *gābhaṇ*, etc. (see § 25).

u = u.

§ 43. Indo-Iranian *u* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *chupati* 'touches,' Prāk. *chupaï*, Pāli *chupati*, Uṛ., Bang. *chuṁ*, Old Hindī *chuh*, Hindī *chū*, Panj. *chuh*, Sindhī *chuh*, Guj. *chu*, *chō*. Skt. *puruṣa* 'man,' Prāk. *purisa*, *paūrisa*, Pāli *purisa*, Bang. *puruṣ*, Sindhī *purusu*, Gyp. *poša*, cf. also Siṁh. *pirimiyā*, Maldive *firimīha*.

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Phl., New Pers. *xušk*, Kāš. *ušk*, Wāxī *vask*, Afγ. *vuc*, Bal. *hušaγ*, Oss. *xus(k)*. Av. *duγδar* 'daughter,' Phl. *duxt*, New Pers. *duxt(ar)*, Wāxī *δagd*, Sangl. *daγ*, Minj. *loγda*, Yidg. *luγdoh*, Afγ. *lūr*, Kurd. *duxt*, *ditt*. Skt. *mudrā* 'seal,' Phl. *mutrāk*, *mudar*, *muhr*, New Pers., Kurd. *muhr*, Oss. *mixur*.

u > *a*.

§ 44. The change of *u* to *a* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is comparatively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *punar* 'again,' Prāk. *puṇu*, *pana* (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions), Pāli *pana*. Skt. *sphurati* 'flashes,' Pāli *pharati*. Skt. *surəṅga* 'mine,' Pāli *surəṁga*, Uṛ. *suḍaṁga*, Bihārī, Hindī *suraṁg*, Sindhī *siriṁgh*, Mar. *suraṁg*. Skt. *karbura* 'variegated,' Hindī *kabarā*, *kābar*, Panj. *kabrā*, Sindhī *kubīrō*, Guj. *kābar*, Mar. *kabarā*. Skt. *durbala* 'weak,' Prāk., Pāli *dubbala*, Bang. *dublā*, Bihārī *dubarā*, *dūbar*, Hindī *dublā*, Panj. *dubbal*, Sindhī *ḍubīrō*, *ḍabalō*, Guj. *dubaḷ(ā)*, Mar. *dubaḷ*.

b. Iranian. Av. *yuvan* 'youth,' Phl. *yuvān*, New Pers. *javān*, *vān*, Māz. *javān*, Afγ., Bal. *javān*. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Afγ. *max*. Av. *uštra* 'camel,' Phl. *uštr*, New Pers. *uštur*, Wāxī *ūštūr*, Šiγ. *ʃtur*, Bal. *huštar*, Kurd. *haštir*. Av. *duma* 'tail,' Phl., New Pers. *dum(b)*, Sarq. *δūm(bā)*, Afγ. *lam*, Bal. *dīm*, Kurd. *dāv*, *dunk*, Dig. Oss. *dumag*, Tag. *dimag*.

u > *i*.

§ 45. The change of *u* to *i* is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *puruṣa* 'man,' Prāk. *purisa*, *paūrisa*, Pāli

purisa, cf. also Siṁh. *pirimiyā*, Maladive *firimīha*, etc. (see § 43). Skt. *kuṭumba* 'family,' Pāli *kuṭimba*. Skt. *undura*, *undara* 'rat,' Pāli *undura*, E. New Ind. dialects *indūr*, Mar. *undīr*. Skt. *vālukā* 'sand,' Pāli *vālukā*, Ass., Uṛ., Bang. *bāli*, Hindī *bālū*, Sindhī *vārī*, Guj. *bāḷu*, Mar. *vāluyā*. Skt. *stuti* 'praise,' Prāk. *thui*, Pāli *thuti*, Siṁh. *tiyu*, *tivu*, *tuti*.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Old Pers. *puθ^{r}a*, Phl. *pus(ar)*, New Pers. *pūr*, *pusar*, *pisar*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pür*, *pūr*, Samn. *pīr*, Wāxī *pötr*, Šiγ. *puč*, Sarq. *pöč*, Kurd. *pisir*, Dig. Oss. *furth*, Tag. *firth*. Av. *tusən* 'they evacuated,' Phl. *tuhīk* 'empty,' New Pers. *tihī*, Gab. *tohī*, Judaeo-Pers. *tuha*, Bal. *tusaq*, N. Bal. *thusaγ*. Av. *buna* 'foundation,' Phl., New Pers. *bun*, Wāxī *bön*, Šiγ. *bon*, Sarq. *bun*, Bal. *bunā*, Kurd. *bin*, *bun*, Dig. Oss. *bun*, Tag. *bin*. Skt. *stuti* 'praise,' Dig. Oss. *stud*, Tag. *stid*.

u > *ā*.

§ 46. The change of *u* to *ā* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhānumatī* 'jugglery,' Mar. *bhānāmatī*.

u > *ī*.

§ 47. The change of *u* to *ī* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Old Pers. *θuxra-*, Phl. *suxr*, New Pers. *surx*, Šīr. *sīrah*, Sīv. *sīr*, Yazdī *surkuh*, Kuhr., Kāš. *sür*, Wāxī *sökr*, Šiγ. *sīrah*, Afγ. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, Kurd. *sōr*, Dig. Oss. *surx*, Tag. *sirx*. Av. *duma* 'tail,' Bal. *dīm*, etc. (see § 44).

u > *ū*.

§ 48. The lengthening of *u* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is due in the majority of cases to compensation (cf. also §§ 5, 28).

a. Indian. Skt. *utsava* 'feast,' Prāk. *ūsava*, Pāli *ussava*. Skt. *kula* 'family,' Prāk., Pāli *kula*, Uṛ. *kuḷa*, Sindhī *kuru*, *kulu*, Guj. *kuḷ*, Mar. *kūḷ*, *kul*. Skt. *muṣala* 'pestle,' Prāk. *mūsala*, Pāli *musala*, Bang. *mūṣal*, Hindī *mūsal*. Skt. *pura* 'town,' Prāk., Pāli *pura*, Bihār. *pūr*. Skt. *samudra* 'sea,' Prāk. *sa-*

mudda, Pāli *samudda*, *muhudda*, Siṁh. *muhuda*, *mūda*. Skt. *muṣṭi* 'fist,' Prāk., Pāli *muṭṭhi*, Bang. *muṭhā*, *muṭhi*, Hindī *mūṭh*, *muṭhā*, Sindhī *muṭhi*, *mūṭh*, Guj. *muṭṭhō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pərətu* 'bridge,' Phl. *puhr*, *puhl*, New Pers. *puhl*, *pul*, Gīl. *purd*, Kurd. *par*, *pir(d)*, *purd*. Av. *puθra* 'son,' New Pers. *pūr*, *pusar*, *pisar*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pīr*, etc. (see § 45). Av. *suxra* 'red,' Afy. *sūr*, etc. (see preceding §). Kurd. *turb* 'turnip,' Mukrī *tūr*.

u > *ĕ*.

§ 49. The change of *u* to *ĕ* is excessively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *p(h)upphusa* 'lung,' Prāk. *phupphusa*, Pāli *phapphāsa*, Uṛ. *phaṁsaphaṁsa*, *phāṁphāṁi*, Bang. *phēṁpaṛā*, *phōṁpasā*, Hindī *phēpharā*, *phēpharā*, Sindhī *phiphiṛu*, Mar. *phōpīs*.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šud*, Wāxī *cauam*, Šiy. *zafčam*, Sarq. *zavsam*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šut(a)*, N. Bal. *šuδā*, *šuθa*, Kurd. *cīan*, Zaza *šē*, Oss. *čaun*.

u > *ŏ*.

§ 50. The change of *u* to *ŏ* is very rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects the confusion between the *majhūl* and the *maʾrūf* vowels must be borne in mind. Somewhat akin to the change of *u* to *ŏ* is the change of *u* to *ŏ* in Wāxī and to *ŭ* in Sariqolī, while the other New Persian dialects usually retain original *u* unchanged.

a. Indian. Skt. *muktā* 'pearl,' Prāk. *mottā*, Pāli *muttā*, Uṛ. *mōti*, Bang. *mōti*, *mati*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī, Guj., Mar. *mōtī*. Skt. *ulūkhala* 'mortar,' Prāk. *ōhala*, *okkhala*, *u(l)ūhala*, Uṛ. *ukhalī*, Mar. *ukhaḷ*. Skt. *ulkā* 'torch,' Prāk. *ukkā*, Pāli *okkā*. Skt. *kuṣṭha* 'leprosy,' Ass. *kuṭh*, Nāip. *kōr*, Uṛ. *kōḍha*, Bang. *kōṭh*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Guj. *kōḍh* (cf. Skt. *kuṣṭhin* 'leper,' Hindī *kōṛī*), Mar. *kōḍ*. Skt., Pāli *kuddāla* 'hoe,' Uṛ. *kōṛā*, Bang. *kōdāl*, Sindhī *kōṛarī*, Guj. *kōdārō*, Siṁh. *udalu*, *udālla*. Skt. *pustaka*

'book,' Prāk. *potthaa*, Pāli *potthaka*, New Ind. dialects *pōthā*, *pōthī*, Siṁh. *pota*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ušī* 'understanding,' Phl. *(h)ōš*, New Pers. *hōš, hūš.* Av. *ušah* 'dawn,' Phl., New Pers. *hōš*. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Kāš. *pür, pūr*, Wāxī *pötr*, Sarq. *pöč*, etc. (see § 45). Av. *suxra* 'red,' Kuhr., Kāš. *sür*, Wāxī *sökr*, etc. (see § 47). Skt. *yuga* 'yoke,' New Pers. *jūy*, Kuhr. *yū*, Šiγ. *yuγ*, Sarq. *yüγ*, Kurd. *jūk*.

Aphaeresis of u.

§ 51. The loss of initial *u* is not uncommon in the New Indian dialects, although it occurs but rarely in the Middle Indian. In the Iranian dialects aphaeresis of *u* seems to have been preceded in the Middle Iranian by a change of *u* to *a* (Old Pers. *upariy* 'above,' Phl. *apar*, Pāz. *awar*, New Pers. *(a)bar*. Skt. *upasthāna* 'assistance,' Phl. *apastān*).

a. Indian. Skt. *udaka*, *daka* 'water,' Jāina Prāk. *daga*, Pāli *daka*, *ōka*, Siṁh. *daga*, *daya*, *diya*. Skt. *upaviśati* 'sits down,' Pāli *upavisati*, Ass. *bahē*, Nāip. *basē*, Kaśm. *√bih*, Ur., Bang. *basē*, E. Hindī, Hindī *baïsē*, Sindhī *bihē*, Mar. *baisē*, *vasē*. Skt., Pāli *udumbara* 'fig-tree,' Ur. *ḍumurī*, Bang. *ḍumur*. Skt. *upadhyāya* 'teacher,' Prāk. *uajjhāa*, Pāli *upajjhāya*, Bihārī *pādhā*, Hindī *ōjhā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *upairi* 'above,' Old Pers. *upariy*, Phl. *apar*, Pāz. *awar*, New Pers. *(a)bar*, Wāxī, Sarq. *var*, Afγ. *prē-*, Bal. *par*, *gvar*, N. Bal. *phar*, Kurd. *bar*, Dig. Oss. *vol*, Tag. *ol*. Av. *uštra* 'camel,' Phl. *uštr*, New Pers. *ustur*, *šutur*, Wāxī *üštür*, Šiγ. *štur*, Bal. *huštar*, *uštir*.

Syncope of u.

§ 52. Syncope of *u* is comparatively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *duhitar* 'daughter,' Prāk. *dhū(d)ā*, *dhī(d)ā*, Pāli *dhītā*, Ur. *jhia*, Bang. *jhī*, Hindī, Panj. *dhī(yā)*, Sindhī *dhiu*, *dhiy*, Guj. *dhī(yā)*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daiṅhu-paiti* 'lord of the land,' New Pers.

dihxān 'village-chief' (cf. Armenian loan-word *dehpet* from Av. *daiθhu-paiti*).

Apocope of u.

§ 53. The loss of final *u* occurs very frequently in the New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk. *taru* 'tree,' Bihārī *tar(u)*. Skt. *bāhu* 'arm,' Apab. *bāhă*, Pāli *bāhu*, Ur., Bang. *bāha*, Hindī, Panj. *bāṁh*, Sindhī *bāṁh*, Guj. *bāṁhi*, Mar. *bāṁhi*, *bāhī*, *bāhu*.

Prothesis of u.

§ 54. The prothesis of *u* is very frequent in the Iranian dialects before initial consonant-groups. The phenomenon is not found in the Indian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *stūna* 'column,' Phl. *stūn*, New Pers. *sutūn*, *ustūn*, Afγ. *stan*, Kurd. (*i*)*stūn*. Skt. *sthūra* 'firm,' New Pers. *siturg*, *suturg*, Yidg. *ustūr*, Afγ. *star*, Bal. *istūr*, Kurd. *ustūr*, Dig. Oss. *sthur*, Tag. *sthir*. Av. *starə* 'star,' Sangl. *usturak*, etc. (see § 14). Av. *spiš* 'louse,' New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *špuš*, etc. (see § 25).

Epenthesis of u.

§ 55. The epenthesis of *u* is very rare. The Kaśmīrī shows many cases of an inserted *u* after *i* in *u*-stems.

a. Indian. Skt. *nīla* 'blue,' Kaśm. *nyula*. Skt. *dṛṣṭha* 'seen,' Kaśm. *dyuṭhu*.

ū = ū.

§ 56. Indo-Iranian *ū* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk. *bhūmi* 'earth,' Pāli *bhūmi*, *bhummi*, Ur. *bhūma*, Bang. *bhūm*, Hindī, Panj. *bhūm*, *bhūṁ*, *bhūṁ*, Sindhī *bhū(iṁ)*, Guj. *bhū(y)*, *bhōy*, Mar. *bhūy*, Siṁh. *bima*.

b. Iranian. Av. *būmi* 'earth,' Phl., New Pers. *būm*. Av., Old Pers. *dūra* 'far,' Phl., New Pers. *dūr*, Gab. *dīr*, Māz. *dīr*, Gīl. *dūr*, Wāxī *ðīr*, Šiγ., Sarq. *ðar*, Yidg. *lūro*, Afγ. *lĭri*, Kurd. *dūr*.

ū > *a*.

§ 57. The change of *ū* to *a* is not frequent either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects, excepting in the Afγān, when *ū* often becomes *a* before nasals or *r*.

a. Indian. Skt. *dukūla* 'silken robe,' Prāk. *dualla*, *duūla*, Jāina Prāk. *dugulla*, Pāli *dukūla*. Skt. *bhrūmukha* 'eyebrow,' Jāina Prāk. *bhamuha*, Pāli *bhamuka* (cf. also Pāli *bhamu* 'eyebrow'), Gyp. *phov*. [See now Pischel, *Gr. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, §§ 206, 261.]

b. Iranian. Skt. *sthūra* 'large,' New Pers. *siturg*, *suturg*, Yidg. *ustūr*, Afγ. *star*, Bal. *istūr*, Kurd. *ustūr*, Dig. Oss. *sthur*, Tag. *sthir*. Skt. *nūnam* 'now,' Av. *nūrəm*, Phl., New Pers. *nūn*, Šiγ. *nur*, Sarq. *nūr*, Afγ. *nan*, Bal. *nūn*.

ū > *i*.

§ 58. The change of *ū* to *i* is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *mūlya* 'price,' Uṛ. *mūla*, Guj., Mar. *mōl*, Siṁh. *mila*. Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Prāk. *sujja*, *sūria*, Pāli *suriya*, Hindī, Panj. *sūraj*, Sindhī *sūrju*, *sūriju*, Guj. *suraj*, *sūr*, Siṁh. *(h)iru*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *mūṣ* 'mouse,' New Pers. *mūš*, Gab. *mušk*, Samn. *mūš*, Afγ. *maγa(k)*, Bal. *mušk*, N. Bal. *mūšk*, Kurd. *miš(i)k*, Dig. Oss. *mista*, Tag. *mist*.

ū > *u*.

§ 59. The shortening of *ū* to *u* is the most frequent change to which *u* is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. It occurs especially before double consonants or consonant-groups (cf. §§ 16, 37). In Assamese *ū* is always written *u*.

a. Indian. Skt. *mūlya* 'price,' Prāk. *mulla*, *molla*, Kaśm. *mol* (but *mūlāi* 'radically'), Uṛ. *mūla*, Bang., Hindī *mōl*, Panj. *mull*, Sindhī *mulhu*, Mar. *mōl*. Skt. *tūrya* 'musical instrument,' Prāk. *tūra*, Jāina Prāk. *tuḍiya*, Pāli *turiya*, Uṛ. *turī*, Bang. *turum*, Hindī *tūrī*, *tūrahī*, Panj. *turam*, Sindhī, Guj. *turī*. Skt.

śālūka 'root of the water-lily,' Pāli *sālūka*. Skt. *cūrṇa* 'dust,' Prāk., Pāli *cuṇṇa*, Kaśm. *cūn*, Uṛ. *curā*, Bang. *cūr*, Hindī *cūrā*, Panj. *cūr*, Sindhī *cūrō*, Guj. *curō*, Mar. *cūr*, also Uṛ., Bang. *cunā*, Hindī *cūnā*, Panj. *cūnā*, *cūnī*, Sindhī *cunu*, Guj. *cunō*, Mar. *cunā*. Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Nāip. *kuvā*, Kaśm. *khuh*, Uṛ., Bang. *kūā*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *kū(ṁ)āṁ*, Sindhī *khūhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuvō*. Skt. *dhūma* 'smoke,' Prāk., Pāli *dhūma*, Ass. *dhōṁā*, Nāip. *dhuāṁ*, Kaśm. *duh*, Uṛ. *dhūṁā*, Bang. *dhuyāṁ*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *dhū(ṁ)āṁ*, Sindhī *dhūṁhāṁ*, Guj., Mar. *dhūm*, Siṁh. *dum*, Gyp. *thuv*.

b. Iranian. Av. *būza* 'goat,' Phl. *būj*, New Pers. *buz*, *buj*, Wāxī *buc*, *büc*, Šiγ., Sarq. *vaz*, Sangl. *vuz*, Minj. *vuza*. Av. *gūθa* 'excrement,' Phl. New Pers. *gūh*, Kāš. *gūs*, Wāxī *gü*, *gī*, Šiγ. *γaθ*, Yaγn. *γūt(ah)*, Afγ. *γul*, N. Bal. *gīθ*, Kurd. *gū*. Skt. *nūnam* 'now,' Av. *nūrəm*, Šiγ. *nur*, Sarq. *nür*, etc. (see § 57). Av. *kū* 'where,' Pāz. *ku*, New Pers. *kujā*, Minj. *ko*, Afγ. *kūm*, Bal. *kū*, N. Bal. *khū*, Kurd. *ku*, Oss. *khu(d)*.

[Final *ū* is often shortened to *u* in the New Indian dialects. Skt. *vadhū* 'bride,' Prāk. *vahū*, Pāli *vadhū*, Uṛ. *bahu*, Bang. *baü*, Hindī *bahū*, Panj. *bōhū*, Sindhī *vahū*, Guj. *vahu*, Mar. *vahū* (yet in most of these dialects the word is actually pronounced *boh(ŭ)*).]

ū > *ā*.

§ 60. The change of *ū* to *ā* is an excessively rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *masūraka* 'pillow,' Pāli *masāraka*.

ū > *ī*.

§ 61. The change of *ū* to *ī* is very rare in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects it is not uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *bahurūpa* 'juggler,' Mar. *bhōrapi*, *b(h)ōrīp*.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *dūra* 'far,' Gab. *dīr*, Māz. *dīr*, Wāxī *ðīr*, Afγ. *līri*, *liri*, etc. (see § 56). Skt. *dhūma* 'smoke,' Phl. *dūṭ*, New Pers. *dūd*, Wāxī *ðīt*, Šiγ. *ðud*, Sarq. *ðüt*, Afγ. *lū*, Bal. *dūt*, *dīt*, N. Bal. *dīθ*, Kurd. *dū*. New Pers. *būdand* 'they were,' Tāt *bīrūnd*. Kurd. *barīk* 'pocket' beside *barūk*.

ū > *ĕ*.

§ 62. The change of *ū* to *ĕ* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nūpura* 'anklet,' Prāk. *ṇēura*, *nēura*, *niura*, Pāli *nūpura*, Uṛ. *nēpura*, *nūpura*, Sindhī *nūrō*, Guj., Mar. *nēpūr*. Skt. *pūrva* 'former,' Prāk. *puvva*, Śāur. Prāk. *purava*, New Ind. dialects *pūrba*, except Hindī *pūrab*, Sindhī *pūrbu*, Siṁh. *pera*.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Phl. *sūcan*, Pāz. *sūzan*, *sōzan*, New Pers. *sōzan*, Gab. *sajan*, Kāš., Zaf. *sōzō*, Wāxī *sič*, Sarq. *sīč*, Bal. *sūcin*, *sīcīn*, N. Bal. *sīšin*, *šīšan*, *šīšīn*, *šēšīn*, Kurd. *sūzin*.

ū > *ŏ*.

§ 63. This change, like the one preceding, is a very rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *ūrja* 'strength,' Pāli *ōja*. Skt. *tāmbūla* 'betel,' Prāk. *tambōla*, Pāli *tambūla*, Uṛ. *taṁbōla*, Guj. *tāṁbūl*, Mar. *tāṁbūl*, cf. also Bang. *tāṁbulī* 'betel-seller,' Hindī *tāṁbōlī*, Panj. *taṁbōlī*, Guj. *tāṁbōlī*, Mar. *tāṁbōḷī*.

ū > *yah*.

§ 64. The interchange of *ū* and *yah* occurs only finally. It is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *žālū* 'leech,' Šiγ., Sarq. *zālyah*, Afγ. *ẑavara*, Bal. *zarāγ*, Kurd. *zalū(g)*, *zulūl*, *zūrī*.

ū > *va*.

§ 65. The change of *ū* to *va* seems to occur only initially. It is extremely uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *ūnaviṁśati* 'nineteen,' Prāk. *ūnavīsaï*, Kaśm. *kunavuh*, Uṛ. *unāīśa*, Bang. *ūniś*, Bihārī *ōnaïs*, *vanaïs*, Hindī *unīs*, Panj. *unnīh*.

ṛ = *r*.

§ 66. Indo-Iranian *ṛ*, which is represented by *r* in Old Indian, by *ərə* in Avestan, and by *ar* in Old Persian, has been changed in

the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects to *ă*, *ĭ*, *ŭ*, *ŏ*, or into *r* (sometimes *l*) preceded or followed by *a*, *i*, *u*. The quality of the vowel in the various developments here considered is generally determined by the character of the consonants which stand near the original *ṛ*. Thus the usual change of *ṛ* is to *a(r)*, *ra*, but labials often colour the vowel to *u(r)*, and sibilants colour it to *i(r)*.

In the Indian Gāthā dialect *ṛ* is regularly retained unchanged, and in Apabhraṁśa Prākrit *ṛ* often remains.

a. Indian. Skt. *sukṛta* 'well done,' Apab. Prāk. *sukṛdu*, *suki(d)u*. Skt. *tṛṇa* 'grass,' Apab. Prāk. *tṛṇu*, *taṇu*, *tiṇu*, Bang. *tinakā*, *tilakā*, Hindī *tinakā*, Panj. *tiṇ*, Sindhī *tīlī*, Mar. *tan*, Siṁh. *taṇa*.

ṛ > *ar*.

§ 67. The change of *ṛ* to *ar* is quite rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, it is quite frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *gṛha* 'house' (also *gēha*), Prāk. *gēha*, Apab. Prāk. *gharu*, Pāli *ghara*, *gaha*, *gēha*, Kaśm. *gahar*, *gar*, Old Hindī *gēha*, New Ind. dialects *ghar*, excepting Mar. *gēh*, Siṁh. *gē*, *geya*, Gyp. *kher*, *kyel*.

b. Iranian. Av. *apərənāyu* 'boy,' Phl. *apurnāyak*, New Pers. *barnā*, *burnā*. Av. *kərəma* 'worm,' Phl. *karm*, New Pers. *kirm*, Sarq. *carm*, Kurd. *karm*, *kurum*, Dig. Oss. *khalmitha*, Tag. *khalm*. Av. *arəša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Māz. *āš*, Šiγ. *yurš*, Sarq. *yürx*, Yidg. *yarš*, Afγ. *yaš*, Kurd. *virc*, *hirš*, *hirc*, Zaza *xēc*, Oss. *ars*. Av. *zərədaya* 'heart,' Phl., New Pers. *dil*, Māz. *zīlah*, Gīl. *zīl*, Šiγ. *zrāð*, *zrāy*, Sarq. *zārd*, Sangl. *uzrāy*, Minj. *zīl*, Afγ. *zṛa*, Bal. *zirdē*, Kurd. *zar*, Oss. *zarda*. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Phl. *sarṛ*, New Pers. *sard*, Gab. *sart*, Wāxī *sūr(ī)*, Afγ. *sōṛ*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sārth*, Kurd. *sār*, Oss. *sald*.

ṛ > *a*.

§ 68. The change of *ṛ* to *a* is very common in the Middle and New Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vṛddha* 'large,' Prāk. *vaddha, viddha, vuḍḍha*, Pāli *vaddha, viddha, buḍḍha, vuḍḍha*, Ass. *bar*, Nāip. *barō*, Kaśm. *bor, boḍ*, Uṛ., Bang. *baḍa*, E. Hindī *baṛā, barā, baddā*, Hindī *baḍā*, Panj. *vaḍḍā*, W. Panj. *baḍḍā*, Sindhī *vaḍō*, Guj. *vaḍō*, Gyp. *baro*, but Skt. *vṛddha* 'old,' Uṛ. *būṛhā, būḍī*, Bang. *buḍā*, Hindī *buḍḍhā, būḍhā*, Panj. *buḍhā*, Sindhī *būdhō, būḍhō*, Guj. *buṛhō*. Skt. *vṛṣabha* 'bull,' Prāk. *vasaha*, Śaur. Prāk. *vusaha*, Pāli *vasabha*. Skt. *gṛha* 'house,' Pāli *gaha, ghara, gēha*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *mṛttikā* 'earth,' Prāk. *maṭṭiā*, Pāli *mattikā*, Nāip. *māṁtō*, Kaśm. *mič*, Uṛ., Bang. *māṭī*, Hindī, Panj. *maṭṭī, miṭṭī, māṭī*, Sindhī *miṭī*, Guj. *maṭṭī, miṭṭī, māṭī*, Mar. *mātī*. Skt. *mṛta* 'dead,' Prāk. *maa, mua*, Māg. Prāk. *maḍē*, Uṛ. *malā*, Hindī *muā*, Panj. *muia*, Sindhī *muō*, Guj. *muvuṁ*, Mar. *mēlēṁ*, Siṁh. *maḷa*, Gyp. *mulo*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *pṛdaku* 'leopard,' New Pers. *pilang, palang*, Afγ. *pṛāng*.

ṛ > ra.

§ 69. The change of *ṛ* to *ra* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vṛkṣa* 'tree,' Prāk. *vracha* (inscriptions of Girnar), *rukkha, riccha, rikkha*, Pāli *rukkha*, Uṛ. *rūkha*, Hindī *brich*, Mar. *rūkh*, Siṁh. *ruk, rik*, Gyp. *ruk*. [According to Pischel § 320 Prāk. *rukkha* (and its New Ind. derivatives) is derived from Skt. *rukṣa*, not *vṛkṣa*.]

ṛ > ir.

§ 70. This change, like the one discussed in the preceding section, occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṛtvij* 'brahmanical priest,' Pāli *iritvija*. Skt. *vṛṣa* 'Taurus' (in the Zodiac), Pāli *vusa*, Sindhī *virkhu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kərəma* 'worm,' New Pers. *kirm*, etc. (see § 67).

ṛ > i.

§ 71. The change of *ṛ* to *i* occurs with great frequency both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṛta* 'done,' Prāk. (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions), *kita*, Māg. Prāk. *kadē*, Māhār. Prāk. *kaya*, Pāiś. Prāk. *kata*, Ardhamāg., Avant., Śak. Prāk. *kala*, Apab. Prāk. *kidu*, Pāli *kata*, *kaṭa*, Bihārī *kaïl*, *kāil*, *kayal*, Old Hindī *kŭya*, Sindhī *kiō*. Skt. *kṛpaṇa* 'wretched,' Apab. Prāk. *kivaṇu*. Skt. *mṛga* 'deer,' Pāli *miga*, *maga* (cf. Skt. *mṛdaṅka* 'having a deer-sign, moon,' Prāk. *miaṁka*). Skt. *ṛṣi* 'sage,' Prāk. *isi*, *risi*, Pāli *isi*, Siṁh. *rusi*, Gyp. *rašāy*. Skt. *gṛdhra* 'vulture,' Śaur. Prāk. *giddha*, Pāli *giddha*, *gijjha*, *gaddha*, Bang. *gidh*, Bihārī *gīdh*, *gidhvā*, Hindī *giddh*, *gīdh*, Panj. *giddh*, Sindhī *gijh*, Guj., Mar. *gidhaṛh*, *gīḍ(h)*. Skt. *ghṛta* 'melted butter,' Prāk. *ghaya*, Pāli *ghata*, Uṛ. *ghia*, Bang. *ghi*, Hindī, Panj. *ghī*, *ghiu*, Sindhī *gihu*, Guj., Mar. *ghī*, Gyp. *khil*, Anglo-Ind. *ghee*. Skt. *śṛṅga* 'horn,' Prāk. *siṁga*, *saṁga*, Pāli *siṁga*, Uṛ. *śiṁgā*, Bang. *śiṁg*, Hindī *sīṁg*, Panj. *siṁg*, Sindhī *siṁu*, Guj., Mar. *śiṁg*, Gyp. *šing*. Skt. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hia(y)a*, Pāiś. Prāk. *hitaaka*, Pāli *hadaya*, Ass., Uṛ., Bihārī *hiă*, Hindī *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyāṁ*, *hiāuṁ*, Sindhī *hiṁāṁu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēṁ*, Gyp. *(y)ilo*. Skt. *pṛṣṭha* 'back,' Prāk. *paṭṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi*, Jāina Prāk., Pāli *piṭṭhi*, Uṛ. *pīṭha*, *piṭhi*, Bang., Hindī *pīṭh*, Panj. *piṭṭh*, *puṭṭh*, Sindhī *puṭhĭ*, Guj. *piṭh*, *puṭh*, Mar. *pāṭh*, *puṭhā*, Siṁh. *piṭa*, Gyp. *pūšto*. Skt. *tṛṣṇā* 'thirst,' Prāk. *taṇhā*, Pāli *taṇhā*, *tiṇhā*, *tasiṇā*, Hindī *tirakkhā*, *tinakhā*, Panj. *tihā*, Sindhī *ṭih*, *ṭihāī*, Mar. *tahān*.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Wāxī *tax(ī)*, Šiyn. *tāšna*, Sarq. *tūr(ī)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afγ. *tažai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūṇag*, N. Bal. *thun*, Kurd. *tī*. Av. *zərəδaya* 'heart,' Phl., New Pers. *dil*, Bal. *zirdē*, etc. (see § 67). Av. *arəša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Kurd. *virc*, *hirš*, *hirc*, etc. (see § 67). Av. *gərəpta* 'seized,' New Pers. *giriftah*, Māz. *gĭtah*, Kāš. *gɨaft*, Bal. *gipta*.

r̥ > *ri*.

§ 72. The change of *r̥* to *ri* occurs only initially, and only in semitatsamas or tatsamas in the New Indian dialects. The phenomenon is not infrequent in Hindī and Panjābī; Sindhī and

Gujarātī show fewer examples of it, and it is very uncommon in Uṛiya, Bangālī, and Marāṭhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṛddhā* 'prosperity,' Prāk. *riddhi, iddhi*, Pāli *iddhi*. Skt. *ṛkṣa* 'bear,' Prāk. *rikkha, riccha*, Pāli *ikka, accha, is(s)a*, Uṛ. (rare) *richa*, Bihārī *rīch, rīkh*, Hindī *rīch*, Panj. *ricch*, Sindhī *richu*, Guj. *rīch*, Mar. *rīs*. Skt. *gṛhastha* 'householder,' Hindī *grihastha*, Panj. *g(a)risatī*, Sindhī *grihastu*, Guj. *grastha*.

ṛ > *ur*.

§ 73. The change of *ṛ* to *ur* is frequent only in Pahlavī and New Persian. Elsewhere it is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bərəza* 'high,' Phl., New Pers. *burz*, Kurd. *barz*, Oss. *barzond*. Av. *pərəna* 'full,' Phl., New Pers. *pur*. Av. *pərəsahi* 'thou askest,' Old Pers. *patiparsāhy*, Phl. *pursītanŏ*, New Pers. *pursīdan*, Wāxī, Sarq. *pörsam*, Afγ. *pušt*, Kurd. *pirsin*, Dig. Oss. *farsun*, Tag. *farsin*. Av. *mərəγa* 'bird,' Phl. *muryˊ*, *murv*, New Pers. *murγ*, Māz. *marγ*, Afγ. *maryˊa*, Kurd. *mrišk*, Oss. *maryˊ*.

ṛ > *u*.

§ 74. The change of *ṛ* to *u* is very common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. As has been noted in § 66, *ṛ* becomes *u* especially in the vicinity of labials.

a. Indian. Skt. *pṛthivī* 'earth,' Prāk. *puḍhavī, puhuvī, puhavī*, Pāli *pathavī, paṭhavī, puthuvī, puthavī*, Old Hindī *puhumi*. Skt. *mṛṇāla* 'lotus-fibre,' Prāk. *muṇāla*, Pāli *muḷāla*. Skt. *ṛtu* 'season,' Prāk. *u(d)ū, riū*, Pāli *utu*, Sindhī *ruti*, Guj. *rut(u)*. Mar. *rutū*. Skt. *vṛṣṭi* 'rain,' Prāk. *vuṭṭhī, viṭṭhī*, Pāli *vuṭṭhi*. Skt. *vṛddha* 'old,' Uṛ. *būṛhā, būḍī*, Bang. *buḍā*, Hindī *buḍḍhā, būḍhā*, Panj. *buḍhā*, Sindhī *budhō, buḍhō*, Guj. *burhō* (cf. § 68).

b. Iranian. Av. *paršti* 'back,' Phl., New Pers. *pušt*, Wāxī *part*, Māz. *pašt*, N. Bal. *phut*, Kurd. *pišt*, Zaza *pašt*. Av. *kərənaoiti* 'makes,' Pāz. *kunom*, New Pers. *kunad*, Gīl. *kudan, kardan*, Wāxī *čaram*, Šiγ. *kinam*, Sarq. *kanam*, Bal. *kanag*, N. Bal. *khanaγ*, Kurd. *kirin*, Dig. Oss. *khanun*, Tag. *khanin* (cf.

also Skt. *akṛṇavam* 'I did,' Old Pers. *akunavam*; Skt. *akṛṇōt* 'did,' Old Pers. *akunauš*, as well as Av. *kərəta* 'done,' Bal. *kut*, N. Bal. *khuθa*). Av. *vərəδka* 'kidney,' Phl. *gurtak*, New Pers. *gurdah*, Wāxī *valk*, Bal. *guttiγ*. Av. *frətərəsaiti* 'fears,' Phl. *tarsīṭanŏ*, Afγ. *tarhēdal*, Bal. *trusag*, *tursaγ*, N. Bal. *thursaγ*, Kurd. *tirsin*, Dig. Oss. *tharsun*, Tag. *tharsin*.

[Somewhat similar to *ṛ* > *u* is *ṛ* > *ö* before sibilants in Wāxī, e. g. Av. *karšta* 'ploughed,' Wāxī *köšt*.]

ṛ > *ru*.

§ 75. The change of *ṛ* to *ru* occurs but rarely, and like the change of *ṛ* to *ri* (cf. § 72) it is found only initially.

a. Indian. Skt. *vṛkṣa* 'tree,' Prāk. *rukkha*, *rikkha*, *riccha*, *vracha*, Pāli *rukkha*, Uṛ. *rūkha*, Mar. *rūkh*, Siṁh. *ruk*, *rik*, Gyp. *ruk*, etc. (see § 69).

ṛ > *ā*.

§ 76. The change of *ṛ* to *ā* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pṛṣṭha* 'back,' Mar. *pāṭh*, *puṭhā*, etc. (see § 71). Skt. *kṛṣi* 'agriculture,' Pāli *kasi*, Uṛ. *cāsa*, *tāsa*, Bang. *cās*.

ṛ > *ī*.

§ 77. The change of *ṛ* to *ī* is found very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *pṛṣṭha* 'back,' Uṛ. *pīṭha*, *piṭhi*, Bang., Hindī *pīṭh*, etc. (see § 71).

b. Iranian. Av. *paršti* 'back,' Kurd. *pīšt*, *pišt*, etc. (see § 74).

ṛ > *ĕ*.

§ 78. The change of *ṛ* to *ĕ* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gṛha* 'house' beside *gēha*, Prāk. *gēha*, Pāli *gēha*, *ghara*, *gaha*, Old Hindī *gēha*, Mar. *gēh*, Siṁh. *gē*, *geya*, Gyp. *kher*, *kyel*, etc. (see § 67).

b. Iranian. Av. *varəša* 'forest,' Phl. *vēšak*, New Pers. *bēšah*, Kāš. *vīša*, Māz., Tāl. *vīšē*, Kurd. *vīša*.

ṛ > *ŏ*.

§ 79. The change of *ṛ* to *ŏ*, like the other developments of

Indo-Iranian *ṛ* considered in the sections immediately preceding, occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *mṛṣā* 'falsely,' Prāk. *mōsā*, *mŭsā*, Pāli *musā* (in like manner Skt. *mṛṣavādin* 'lying,' Prāk. *mōsāvāa*, *mŭsāvāa*, Pāli *musāvādin*).

ṛ > *al*.

§ 80. In the Indian dialects *ṛ* becomes *al* apparently only in the Māgadhī Prākrit. The Iranian dialects show a few examples of a development of *al* from an original *ṛ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṛtvā* 'having done,' Prāk. *kariā*, Māg. Prāk. *kaliā*, Bihārī *ka(r)i*, Hindī *kar(i)*. Skt. *dhṛta* 'held,' Prāk. *dharia*, Māg. Prāk. *dhalidē*, Bihārī *dhaïl*, *dhāil*, *dhayal* (in this word the Māg. *l* has been elided, while the Māg. *d* has become *l* as in all Bihārī perfect participles).

b. Iranian. Av. *vərəδka* 'kidney,' Wāxī *valk*, etc. (see § 74). Av. *varəka* 'leaf,' Phl. *varg*, New Pers. *barg*, Gab. *varak*, Kāš. *valg*, Māz. *varak*, Gīl. *valg*, *valk*, Judaeo-Pers., Kurd. *valg*.

ṛ > *r*.

§ 81. The change of *ṛ* to *r* seems to occur only after *t* and before vowels, and it is apparently confined to the Sindhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *jāmāṭṛka* 'son-in-law,' Prāk. *jāmāūa*, Sindhī *jāṭrō*. Skt. *māṭṛka* 'maternal uncle,' Prāk. *māūa*, Sindhī *māṭrē*.

§ 82. Numerous examples may be cited where Indo-Iranian *ṛ* develops into different vowels in the same word in the same period and dialect.

a. Indian. Skt. *tṛṇa* 'grass,' Apab. Prāk. *tṛṇu*, *taṇu*, *tiṇu*, etc. (see § 66). Skt. *gṛha* 'house,' Pāli *ghara*, *gaha*, *gēha*, etc. (see § 67). Skt. *mṛttikā* 'earth,' Hindī, Panj., Guj. *maṭṭī*, *māṭī*, *miṭṭī*, etc. (see § 68). Skt. *vṛnta* 'stem of a flower,' Prāk. *vinta*, *venta*, *vonta*, Pāli *vanta*. Skt. *ṛṣi* 'sage,' Prāk. *isi*, *risi*, etc. (see § 71). Skt. *pṛṣṭha* 'back,' Prāk. *paṭṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi*, Panj. *piṭṭh*, *puṭṭh*, Guj. *piṭh*, *puṭh*, Mar. *pāṭh*, *puṭhā*, etc. (see § 71).

Skt. *tṛṣṇā* 'thirst,' Pāli *tiṇhā*, *taṇhā*, *tasiṇā*, etc. (see § 71). Skt. *mṛṣā* 'falsely,' Prāk. *mōsā*, *musā*, *mūsā*, etc. (see § 79).

b. Iranian. Av. *apərənāyu* 'boy,' New Pers. *barnā*, *burnā*, etc. (see § 67). Av. *kərəma* 'worm,' Kurd. *karm*, *kurum*, etc. (see § 67). Skt. *pṛdaku* 'leopard,' New Pers. *pilang*, *palang*, etc. (see § 68). Av. *kərənaoiti* 'makes,' Gīl. *kudan*, *kardan*, etc. (see § 74).

The great variety of changes undergone by Indo-Iranian *ṛ* in the various Indo-Iranian dialects is obvious. Thus the *ṛ* of Skt. *mṛttika* 'earth' > *a*, *i*, *ā*; the *ṛ* of Skt. *gṛha* 'house' > *a*, *ē*; of Skt. *vṛddha* 'large' > *a*, *u*, *ō*; of Skt. *pṛṣṭha* 'back' > *a*, *i*, *u*, *ā*, *ī*; of Skt. *mṛṣā* 'falsely' > *u*, *ū*, *ō*. In like manner the *ṛ* of Av. *pərəsahi* 'thou askest' > *a*, *i*, *u*, *ŏ*; and of Av. *paršti* 'back' > *a*, *i*, *u*, *ī*.

r̥̄.

§ 83. Indo-Iranian *r̥̄*, arising from Indo-Germanic *r̥̄*, *l̥̄*, stands in Indian in ablaut with *īr*, *ūr* (before consonants), *ir*, *ur* (before vowels), *ări*, *rā* (Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.*, i. 22–30; Hirt, *Indogerm. Ablaut*, 48–49, 54–55, 60, 70–71, 76 sqq.). In Iranian the Indo-Iranian *r̥̄* is represented by *ar* (Bartholomae, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. 25). The Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects have in general retained without change the old representations of Indo-Iranian *r̥̄*.

a.–b. Indo-Iranian: Skt. *tīrtha* 'across,' Prāk. *tittha*, *tūha*, Pāli *titttha*; Wāxī *tūrt*. Skt. *ūrmi* 'wave'; Av. *varəmi*, Sarq. *varm*, Bal. *gvarm*. Skt. *dīrgha* 'long,' Prāk. *dīraha*, *dīha*, *diggha*, Pāli *dīgha*, Sindhī *ḍrighō*; Av. *darəya*, Old Pers. *darga*, New Pers. *dirāz*, Afγ. *lāryа*, Bal. *drāj*, N. Bal. *drāž*, Kurd. *dirēž*, Zaza *darg*, Oss. *daryа*.

l̥.

§ 84. Indo-Germanic *l̥* is lost entirely in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, and it disappeared from the Iranian dialects

in the pre-Iranian period. In Old Indian ḷ is very rare. The developments of ḷ in Middle Indian were analogous to those of ṛ.

a. Indian. Skt. *klṗta* 'done,' Prāk. *kilitta*, Pāli *kappita*.

ē = ē.

§ 85. Indo-Iranian *ē* is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. In the Middle and New Indian dialects *e* is long only before vowels and single consonants. Before consonant-groups it is to be regarded as short. In Assamese *e* is invariably short.

Skt. *dēva* 'god,' Prāk. *dēa*, Pāli *dēva*, Kaśm. *day*, Uṛ., Bang. *dē*, Hindī *dēō*, *dēu*, Panj., Sindhī *dēu*, Gyp. *devēl*, *del*. Skt. *prēma* 'love,' Prāk. *pemma*, Pāli *pēma*, New Indian dialects *p(r)ēm*.

b. Iranian. The confusion in New Persian of the *majhūl ē* with the *maʒrūf ī* has been noted above, § 35. The Caspian dialects also show this confusion, while the Judaeo-Persian, in common with several other Eastern Persian dialects, preserves carefully the distinction between *ē* and *ī*.

Av. *daēva* 'demon,' Phl., New Pers. *dēv*, Wāxī *līv*, Šiy. *δīv*, Sarq. *δēv*. Av. *haca* 'from' + *aδairi* 'beneath,' Phl. *azēr*, Pāz. *ažēr*, New Pers. *zīr*, Sīv. *šī*, Zaf. *žēr*, other Central dialects *jīr*, Sāmm. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judaeo-Pers. *zēr*, Kurd. *zīr*. Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Phl. *vēṭ*, New Pers. *bēd*, Pamir dialects *vid*, Gab. *vīd*. Sīv. *vī*, Zaf., Kāš. *vē*, Vōn. *vīd*, Kuhr. *vēt*, Nat. *vīd*, Afy. *vala*, N. Bal. *gēθ*, Kurd. *vī*, *bī(h)*.

ē > a.

§ 86. The change of *ē* to *a* is not frequent. In Western Bangālī, however, several instances of *a* are found where the Eastern Bangālī keeps the original *ē* unchanged (e. g. Skt. *ēka* 'one,' E. Bang. *ēka*, W. Bang. *ak*).

a. Indian. Skt. *mlēccha* 'barbarian,' Prāk. *milicchu*, Pāli *milakkhu*. Skt. *ēkādaśa* 'eleven,' Prāk. *ēāraha*, Pāli *ēkādasa*,

ēkārasa, Kaśm. *kāh*, Ur., Bang. *ēgāra*, Bihārī *egyārah*, Hindī *igārah*, *gyārah*, Panj. *giārāṁ*, Sindhī *ikārahaṁ*, *yārahaṁ*, Guj. *agiār*, Mar. *akarā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Afγ. *vala*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *aēsma* 'fuel,' Phl. (*h*)*ēzam*, Pāz., New Pers. *hēzam*, Gab. *izma*, Kāš., Kuhr. (*h*)*ēzam*, Kurd. *haẓang*.

$\bar{e} > i$.

§ 87. The change of $\bar{e}$ to *i* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In the Indian dialects the change occurs more frequently in the West than in the East. Among the Iranian dialects the Ossetish regularly develops *i* from $\bar{e}$ before *n*.

a. Indian. Skt. *vēdanā* 'pain,' Prāk. *viaṇā*, *vēaṇā*, Pāli *vēdanā*. Skt. *dēvara* 'brother-in-law,' Prāk. *diara*, *dēvara*, Pāli *dēvara*, Ur. *dēyura*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *dēvar*, *dēyar*, Sindhī *ḍēru*, Guj. *dēur*, *dēr*, Mar. *dēvar*, *dēyar*. Skt. *ēkādaśa* 'eleven,' Hindī *igārah*, *gyārah*, Sindhī *ikārahaṁ*, *yārahaṁ*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *prativēśaka* 'neighbouring,' Pāli *paṭivissaka*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daēza* 'garden,' Old Pers. παρά]δεισος, Phl. *diz*, New Pers. *diz*, *dīz*, *dēz*. Phl. *mēhmān* 'guest,' New Pers. *mēhmān*, *mihmān*, Afγ. *mēlma*, Kurd. *mēvān*. Old Pers. *naiba* 'good,' Phl. *nēv*(*ak*), New Pers. *nēk*(*ō*), *nikō*. Av. *axšaēna* 'green,' Phl., New Pers. *xašīn*, Šiγ. *šōin*, Sarq. *xoin*, Yidg. *axšīn*, Afγ. *xīn*, *šīn*, Kurd. (*ha*)*šīn*, Oss. *axsinag*. Skt. *phēna* 'foam,' Dig. Oss. *finkha*, Tag. *finkh*.

$\bar{e} > \bar{a}$.

§ 88. The change of $\bar{e}$ to $\bar{a}$ is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kēyūra* 'bracelet,' Pāli *kāyūra*.

$\bar{e} > \bar{\imath}$.

§ 89. The change of $\bar{e}$ to $\bar{\imath}$ is rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, excepting in Pāzand and New Persian, where $\bar{e}$ becomes $\bar{\imath}$ regularly before a nasal.

a. Indian. Skt. *mēgha* 'cloud,' Prāk. *mēha*, Pāiś. Prāk.

mēkha, Pāli *mēgha*, Hindī *mīṁh*, *mēṁh*, Panj. *mīṁh*, *mīhaṁ*, Sindhī *mīṁhu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēna* 'nose,' Phl. *vēnīk*, *bēnīk*, Pāz. *vīnī*, New Pers. *bīnī*, Sāmn. *vīnī*, Māz. *vēnī*, Tāl. *vīnī*, Kurd. *bēn*, *bivil*, E. Kurd. *baval*. Av. *axšaēna* 'blue,' Phl., New Pers. *xašīn*, Yidg. *axšīn*, Afγ. *xīn*, *šīn*, Kurd. (*ha*)*sīn*, etc. (see § 87). Av. *daēman* 'glance,' Phl. *andēmankar*, Pāz. *andīmānī*, New Pers. *dīm*, Šīr., Zaf., Kāš. *dim*, Kuhr. *dim*, *dūm*, Afγ. *lēma*, Bal. *dēm*, N. Bal. *dē(m)v*, Kurd. *dēm*. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Phl. *spēd*, New Pers. *sipēd*, *sapēd*, *ispēd*, Zaf. *sōbō*, Kāš. *asbēd*, Kuhr. *asbē*, Sarq. *spaid* (*ai* of secondary development, cf. New Pers. *dēr* 'long,' Sarq. loan-word *dair*), Yidg. *spī*, Kurd. *sipī*. Av. *aēxa* 'ice,' Pāz. *yah*, New Pers. *yax*, Wāxī, Šiγ. *yax*, Yidg. *yux*, Yaγn. *īx*, Dig. Oss. *yax*, Tag. *īx*. Av. *haētu* 'bridge,' Dig. Oss. *xēd*, Tag. *xīd*.

ē > *ŏ*.

§ 90. The change of *ē* to *ŏ* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vēṣṭana* 'crown,' Pāli *vēṭhana*, Siṁh. *voṭunu*, New Siṁh. *oṭunna*.

ē > *ai*.

§ 91. The change of *ē* to *ai* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xᵛaēda* 'sweat,' Phl. *xᵛāi*, New Pers. *xᵛai*, Wāxī *xil*, Sarq. *xaiδ*, Afγ. *xᵛalē*, Bal. *hēd*, N. Bal. *hēδ*, Kurd. *xū*, *xoi*, *xōh*, Oss. *xad*.

ē > *y*.

§ 92. The change of *ē* to *y* is very rare and it occurs only initially. (This *y* is probably really prothetic.)

a. Sanskrit *ēka* 'one,' Prāk. *ekka*, Pāli *ēka*, Kaśm. *akh*, Ur., Bang. *ēka*, W. Bang. *ak*, Bihārī *yak*, *ĕk*, Old Hindī *ik*(*k*), Hindī *ēk*, Panj. *ik*, Sindhī *hiku*, (*h*)*ēku*, *hikiḍō*, *hēkiḍō*, Guj. *ēk*, *aik*, Mar. *ēk*, *yēk*, Gyp. *yek*, *yekh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *aēva* 'one,' Old Pers. *aiva*, Phl. *ēv*(*ak*), Pāz., New Pers. *yak*, Vōn. *yav*, *ikī*, Kuhr. *y*, *ī*, *ik*, Wāxī *ī*(*v*), Šiγ. *yīv*,

yi, yu, yü, Sarq. *iv, ĭ*, Sangl. *vak*, Minj. *yao*, Afγ. *yav*, Bal. *ēyōk*, Kurd. *īkī*, Dig. Oss. *yau*, Tag. *yu*. Av. *aēxa* 'ice,' Pāz. *yah*, New Pers., Wāxī, Šiγ. *yax*, Yidg. *yux*, Dig. Oss. *yax*, etc. (see § 89).

Aphaeresis of ē.

§ 93. The loss of initial *ē* occurs with extreme rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēraṇḍa* 'castor-oil tree,' Hindī *rēṁḍī*.

Apocope of ē.

§ 94. Final *ē* is lost in the New Indian dialects in the majority of instances.

a. Indian. Skt. *talē* 'beneath,' Uṛ. *taḷ(ē)*, Hindī *talē*, Guj., Mar. *tal, taḷ*. Skt. *saṁgē* 'with,' Uṛ. *saṁgē*, Hindī, Panj. *saṁn*, Sindhī *sāṁ*, Guj. *saṁn*, Mar. *saṁgēṁ*.

The multiform changes to which a final *ē* is subject in the New Indian dialects may be well illustrated from the modern representatives of Old Indian **paścē* for the Sanskrit *paścāt* 'after.'

Skt. **paścē* 'after,' Apab. Prāk. *pacchaï*, Uṛ. *pachē, pāchu*, Bang. *pichē, pacchē*, Hindī *pāchē, pīchē, pāchū*, Panj. *pichē, pichōṁ*, Sindhī *pōē, puāṁ*, Guj. *pachē, pachī, pachō*.

āi = *ā*.

§ 95. Indo-Iranian *āi* has been lost in the Indo-Iranian dialects. The few cases in the Iranian dialects in which *āi* is apparently retained show in reality a change of *āi* to *āy* (cf. § 108).

b. Iranian. Av. *rāi* 'radiance,' New Pers. *rāy*. [New Pers. *rāy* is, however, to be compared rather with Av. gen. sg. **rāyō*.]

āi > *aï*.

§ 96. The change of *āi* to *aï* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *sāinya* 'soldier,' Prāk. *saïnna, senna*, Pāli *sēniya*.

āi > *ī*.

§ 97. The change of *āi* to *ī* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhāirya* 'firmness,' Prāk. *dhīra*, *dhijja*, Uṛ., Sindhī, Guj., Mar. *dhīr*.

āi > *ĕ*.

§ 98. The change of *āi* to *ĕ* is the normal one to which *āi* is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects, where it is found very frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāila* 'hill,' Prāk., Pāli *sēla*. Skt. *kāivarta* 'fisherman,' Prāk., Pāli *kēvaṭṭa*, Hindī *kēvaṭ*. Skt. *tāila* 'oil,' Prāk., Pāli *tella*, New Ind. dialects *tēl*. Skt. *gāirika* 'red chalk,' Pāli *gērika*, Uṛ. *gēru*, Hindī *gērū*, Guj. *gēru*, Mar. *gērū*.

ō = *ŏ*.

§ 99. Indo-Iranian *ō* is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. In Assamese *ō*, although it is retained in the script, is pronounced *ŭ*. The New Persian presents the same confusion of the *majhūl ō* and the *maʒrūf ū* which has already been observed in the case of *ē* and *ī* (see §§ 35, 85). The Judaeo-Persian, like the majority of the East Iranian dialects, observes carefully the distinction between *ō* and *ū* (cf. § 85).

a. Indian. Skt. *bhōjana* 'food,' Prāk. *bhōaṇa*, Pāli *bhōjana*. Skt. *yōktra* 'yoke,' Pāli *yotta*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *jōt*, Sindhī *jōṛō*, Guj. *jōtar*, Mar. *jōt*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raocah* 'day,' Old Pers. *raucah*, Phl. *rōc*, New Pers. *rōz*, Gab. *rūj*, Caspian dialects *rū*, excepting Kāš. *rū*, Tāl. *rōž*, *rūž*, Wāxī *rauj*, Afγ. *rvaj*, Bal. *rōc*, N. Bal. *rōš*, Kurd. *rūž*, *rō(ž)*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Old Pers. *gauša*, Phl., New Pers. *gōš*, Šīr., Bahb. *guš*, Nāy. *gūš*, Wāxī *γūš*, *γiš*, Šiγn. *γūš*, Sarq. *γaul* (*au* of secondary development), Yidg. *γū*, Afγ. *γvaiγ*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tāg. *qūs*. Av. *baoiδi* 'perfume,' Phl. *bōd*, *bōi*, New Pers. *bō(i)*, Wāxī *vūl*, Sarq. *bao*, Yaγn. *vūd*,

Bal. *bōd*, N. Bal. *bōð*, *bōz*, Oss. *bud*. Av. *raoδa* 'face,' Phl. *rōd*, New Pers. *rō(i)*, Judaeo-Pers. *rōi*.

ō > *au*.

§ 100. The change of *ō* to *au* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *saokəntavant* 'sulphurous,' Pāz. *sawagand*, New Pers. *saugand*.

ō > *a*.

§ 101. The change of *ō* to *a* is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pāli *godhūma*, Ass. *ghēṁhu*, Nāip. *gahūṁ*, Ur. *gahama*, *gama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūṁ*, Hindī *gō(ṁ)huṁ*, *gēhuṁ*, *ghēuṁ*, Panj. *ghēuṁ*, Sindhī *gēhuṁ*, Guj. *ghaūṁ*, Gyp. *giv*.

b. Iranian. Av. *saocayāhi* 'shalt burn,' Phl. *sōxtanδ*, *sōcinīṭanδ*, New Pers. *sōxtan*, Gab. *sajan*, Māz., Gīl. √*sūj*, Sarq. *sauz*, Afγ. *sēzal*, *sĕǰal*, Bal. *sucag*, N. Bal. *sušaγ* (intrans.), Bal. *sōcag*, N. Bal. *sōšaγ* (trans.), Kurd. *sōtin*, Dig. Oss. *sōǰun*, Tag. *sūǰin*. Av. *sraoni* 'loin,' Phl. *sarūk*, *sarīn*, New Pers. *sarōn*, *surīn*, Wāxī *šunj*, Siγ. *šaun*, Sarq. *xaun*, Bal. *sarēn*. New Pers. *pōz* 'parts about the nose,' Gab. *pūz*, Sangl. *fuzik*, Minj. *foska*, Afγ. *pōza*, *paza*, Bal. *pō(n)z*, N. Bal. *phōnz*, Kurd. *pūz*, *pōz*, Dig. Oss. *finǰe*, Tag. *fing*.

ō > *i*.

§ 102. The change of *ō* to *i* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Wāxī *γiš*, *γūš*, etc. (see § 99).

ō > *u*.

§ 103. The change of *ō* to *u* is common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. As in all cases of shortening, the phenomenon here discussed occurs especially before double consonants or consonant-groups.

a. Indian. The change of *ō* to *u* in the New Indian dialects occurs more frequently in the West than in the East, although

the Bangālī often has *u* where the other New Indian dialects show *ō*.

Skt. *rōcati* 'shines,' Prāk. *ruccaï*, Māg. Prāk. *lōadi*, Pāli *ruccati*, *rōcati*. Skt. *jyōtsnā* 'moon-lit night,' Prāk. *jōṁhā*, Pāli *juṁhā*. Skt. *ōjas* 'strength,' Jāina Prāk. *uya*, Pāli *ōja*. Skt. *lōṭyām* 'in a small water-pot,' E. New Ind. dialects *lōṭiyā*, W. New Ind. dialects *luṭiyā*. Skt., Pāli *lōhakāra* 'blacksmith,' Sindhī *luharu*.

Here too may be considered the Kaśmīrī *ŏ*, *ŭ* arising from *ō* through the umlaut of a following *ī*, e. g. Kaśm. *brōr* 'tom-cat,' fem. *brŏr* (written *brārū*); Skt. *vṛddha* 'large,' Kaśm. *bodd* (written *baḍu*), fem. *bŭḍ* (written *baḍū*), etc. (see § 68).

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'hill,' Old Pers. *kaufa*, Phl. *kōf*, New Pers. *kōh*, *kuh*, Kuhr. *kūfūn*, mountain, Jewish *kuf*, Afγ. *kvab*, Bal. *kōpak*, N. Bal. *khōfaγ*, Kurd. *kūvī*. Av. *maoiri* 'ant,' Phl., New Pers. *mōr*, Gab. *mōrīk*, Kāš., Vōn. *mōrcuna*, Yidg. *muryah*, Dig. Oss. *muljug*, Tag. *maljig*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Šīr., Bahb. *guš*, etc. (see § 99). New Pers. *gōšah* 'corner,' Kurd. *gūš*, *gūša*, Bohtanī *kuši*.

ō > *ī*.

§ 104. The change of *ō* to *ī* is rather infrequent.

b. Iranian. Some of the New Iranian dialects preserve the transition-grade *ū*.

Phl. *mō(d)*, *mōī* 'hair,' New Pers. *mōi*, Gab. *mīd*, Sīv., Bahb., Nāy., Māz. *mī*, Gīl., Tāl. *mū*, other Caspian dialects *mū*, Bal. *mūd*, *mīd*, N. Bal. *mīd*. New Pers. *tōlah* 'puppy,' Sīv. *tīlū*.

ō > *ū*.

§ 105. In Pāzand and New Persian Indo-Iranian *ō* becomes *ū* regularly before *m* or *n* (compare the analogous change in these dialects of *ē* to *ī* before nasals, § 89). In Afγān *ō* becomes *ū* before *n*, but it remains unchanged before *m*. Elsewhere the change is sporadic only.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaona* 'colour,' Phl. *gūn(ak)*, New Pers.

gūn(ah), Afγ. *γūna*. Av. *haoma* 'Homa-plant,' Phl. *hōm*, Pāz., New Pers. *hūm*, Afγ. *ōma*. Av. *saocayāhi* 'shalt burn,' Māz., Gīl. *√sūj*, Tag. Oss. *sūjin*, etc. (see § 101). Av. *raocah* 'day,' Gab. *rūj*, Tāl. *rōž*, *rūš*, Kurd. *rūž*, *rō(ž)*, etc. (see § 99). Av. *draoγa* 'lie,' Old Pers. *drauga*, Phl. *drōg*, *drōγ*, New Pers. *durōγ*, *darōγ*, Māz. *darū*, *durū*, Tāl. *dū*, Sarq. *durū*, Afγ. *darōγ*, Bal. *d(a)rōg*, N. Bal. *drōγ*. Av. *raoγna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōkan*, *rōγan*, New Pers. *rōγan*, Kurd. *rūn*.

ō > *ē*.

§ 106. The change of *ō* to *ē* is found with some frequency.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *rōhita* 'kind of fish,' Ass. *rō*, E. Hindī *rēhū*, Hindī *rōhū*, Panj. *rēhū*, Siṁh. *rehe*, *rē*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Ass. *ghēṁhu*, Hindī *gēhuṁ*, *ghēuṁ*, *gō(ṁ)huṁ*, Panj. *ghēuṁ*, Sindhī *gēhuṁ*, etc. (see § 101). Skt. *cōra* 'thief,' Prāk., Pāli *cōra*, New Ind. dialects *cōr*, excepting Kaśm. *čūr*, Siṁh. *hera*, *hora*, Gyp. *cor*.

ō > *va*.

§ 107. The change of *ō* to *va* occurs regularly in Afγān, excepting before *m*, where *ō* is retained, and before *n*, where *ō* becomes *ū* (see § 105).

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Afγ. *γvaiγ*, etc. (see § 99). Av. *raocah* 'day,' Afγ. *rvaj*, etc. (see § 99).

au = *āu*.

§ 108. The Indo-Iranian *au* has been lost in the Indo-Iranian dialects. The few cases in which *āu* has apparently been retained in the Iranian dialects show in reality a change of *āu* to *āv* (cf. § 95).

b. Iranian. Skt. *nāu* 'ship,' Av. *nāvaya* 'navigable,' Old Pers. *nāviyā* 'fleet' (?), Phl. *nāvīcak*, *nāvtāk*, New Pers. *nāv*. [The New Pers. *nāv* is, however, to be compared rather with the Av. gen. sg. **nāvō*.]

āu > *aü*.

§ 109. The change of *āu* to *aü* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pāura* 'citizen,' Prāk. *paüra*, Pāli *pōra*. Skt. *gāurava* 'respect,' Prāk. *gaürava*, Śāur. Prāk. *gōrava*. Skt. *māuli* 'garland,' Prāk. *maüli*, Pāli *mōli*.

āu > *u*.

§ 110. The change of *āu* to *u* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kāukṣēyaka* 'sword,' Prāk. *kukkhēaa*. Skt. *dāuvārika* 'porter,' Prāk. *duvvāria*, Pāli *dōvārika*. Skt. *cāurya* 'theft,' Prāk. *cōria*, Nāip. *cōrī*, Ur. *cōri*, Bang. *curi*, Hindī, Mar. *cōrī*. Skt. *āutsukya* 'zeal,' Prāk. *ōsukka*, Pāli *ussukka*.

āu > *ū*.

§ 111. The change of *āu* to *ū* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāurya* 'heroism,' Prāk. *sōria*, Sindhī *sūrihāī*.

āu > *ō*.

§ 112. The change of *āu* to *ō* is the normal one to which Indo-Iranian *āu* is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects. It may also be noted that *āu* in Assamese script is always pronounced *ō*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kāumudi* 'moonlight,' Prāk. *kōmui*, Pāli *kōmudi*, Gyp. *comut* 'moon.' Skt. *yāuvāna* 'youth,' Prāk. *jovvaṇa*, Pāli *yobbana*, Sindhī *jobhanu*. Skt. *āupamya* 'analogy,' Pāli *ōpamma*. Skt. *gāura* 'pale,' Pāli *gōra*, New Ind. dialects *gōrā*. Skt. *jhāulika* 'pouch,' Ur., Bang. *jhūlī*, *jhuli*, *jhōlī*, Hindī *jhōlī*, Guj., Mar. *jhōḷī*.

SINGLE CONSONANTS

§ 113. The Indo-Iranian consonants remain for the most part unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. The law of spirantization which sharply distinguishes the Iranian from the Indian dialects is still operative, and all phenomena to be discussed in the following chapter must be considered with this fact in mind. The principal changes undergone by the Indo-Iranian single consonants are in general easily explicable. Common both to the Indian and to the Iranian dialects, although more frequent in the latter, is the change of an original voiced consonant to a voiceless, or the reverse. Aspiration and deaspiration, the loss of a consonant and the subsequent insertion of *y* or *v* in its place to avoid a resultant hiatus, are the most striking changes noted in the Indian dialects. The changes presented by the Iranian dialects in the single consonants are far more sporadic and less regular than those which are found in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects a voiceless intervocalic consonant regularly becomes voiced. In general it may be said that the Indian dialects have preserved the original Indo-Iranian vowels more faithfully than the Iranian dialects have, but that, on the other hand, the Iranian consonants have suffered less change than the Indian.

In the following paragraphs will be found in some detail the principal changes undergone by the Indo-Iranian consonants in the various Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

k = *k*.

§ 114. Indo-Iranian *k* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kathayati* 'tells,' Prāk. *kahaï*, *kahēi*, Pāli *kathēti*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kah*, Guj. *kēh*, Siṁh. *kiyanavā*. Skt. *ēka* 'one,' Prāk. *ekka*, Pāli *ēka*, Kaśm. *akh*, Uṛ., Bang. *ēka*, W. Bang. *ak*, Bihārī *yak*, *ĕk*, Old Hindī *ik(k)*, Hindī *ēk*, Panj. *ik*, Sindhī *hiku*, *(h)ēku*, *hikiḍō*, *hēkiḍō*, Guj. *ēk*, *āik*, Mar. *(y)ēk*, Gyp. *yek*, *yekh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'hill,' Old Pers. *kaufa*, Phl. *kōf(ak)*, New Pers. *kōh*, Kuhr. *kūfūn*, Tāt *kuf*, Afγ. *kvab*, Bal. *kōpak*, N. Bal. *khofaγ*, Kurd. *kīūh*. Av. *kərənaoiti* 'makes,' Old Pers. *kunavāhy*, Phl. *karṭanŏ*, New Pers. *kardan*, Wāxī *ǰaram*, Šiγn. *kinam*, Sarq. *kanam*, Bal. *kanag*, N. Bal. *khanaγ*, Kurd. *kirin*, Dig. Oss. *khanun*, Tag. *khanin*.

k > *kh*, *x*.

§ 115. In the Indian dialects the aspirization of an original *k* is only sporadic, but the Middle and New Iranian dialects regularly change *k* into the spirant *x* internally between vowels. In North Balūcī *k* becomes *kh* regularly initially, and the change occurs uniformly both initially and finally in Ossetish.

a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Prāk., Pāli *khujja*, Uṛ. *kūjā*, Bang. *ku(ṁ)jā*, *kubjā*, Hindī *kubjā*, *kubbā*, *kubṛā*, Panj. *kubbā*, *kūbā*, Sindhī *kuḃō*, Guj. *kubaṛō*, Mar. *kubaḍā*, *khub*. Skt. *kāsa* 'cough,' Māhār. Prāk. *khāsa*, Pāli *kāsa*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *khāṁsī*, *khāṁsnā*. Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Prāk. *kū(v)a*, Pāli *kūpa*, Kaśm. *khuh*, Uṛ., Bang. *kūā*, Hindī *kuāṁ*, Panj. *khūhā*, Sindhī *khūhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuvō*. Skt. *krōḍaka* 'lap,' Hindī *kōṛ*, Guj. *khōḷō*. Skt. *sukumāra* 'youth,' Prāk. *sūmāla*, *sukumāla*, Pāli *sukhumāla*, *sukumāra*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kafa* 'foam,' Phl., New Pers. *kaf*, Wāxī *xuf*, Sarq. *xaf*, Bal. *kap*, Kurd. *kaf*, Dig. Oss. *xaf(a)*, Tag. *xaf*. Av. *kahrkāsa* 'vulture,' Phl. *kahrkās*, *kargas*, New Pers. *kargas*, Bal. *kargaz*, N. Bal. *khargaz*, Oss. *kharkh*. Av. *ahmākəm* 'of us,' Old Pers. *amāxam*, New Pers. *mā*, Kāš. *(h)ōmō*, *hāmā*, Oss. *max*. GAv. *xšmāka* 'yours,' YAv. *yušmāka*, Pāz., New Pers. *šumā*, Bal. *šavā*, Dig. Oss. *smax*, Tag. *sumax*. Av. *niyāka*

'grandfather,' Old Pers. *apanyāka*, Phl. *nyāk*, New Pers. *niyā*, Afγ. *nīka*, Bal. *nākū*, N. Bal. *nāxō*, fem. *nakh*.

k > *g*.

§ 116. The change of *k* to *g* is not frequent, excepting in the Iranian dialects internally between vowels.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *kīra* 'parrot,' Siṁh. *girā*, *giravā*, *kira*. Skt. *marakata* 'emerald,' Prāk. *maragaya*. Skt. *sakala* 'whole,' Māhār. Prāk. *sayala*, Pāli *sakala*, Bang. *sagun*, Bihārī *sagar*, Hindī *sagun*, *sagrā*, Panj. *sagrā*, Sindhī *saguṇu*, Guj. *saglō*, Mar. *sagḷa*, Siṁh. *siyalu*. Skt. *kāka* 'crow,' Prāk. *kāa*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *kāg*, Sindhī *kāṁgu*, Mar. *kāg*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ka* 'who?' New Pers. *kih*, Wāxī *kui*, *koi*, Šiγn. *kai*, Sarq. *coi*, Bal. *kē*, N. Bal. *khai*, Tūr Kurd. *gō*, Dig. Oss. *kha*, Tag. *cī*, Kamuntī *khī*. Av. *yākarə* 'liver,' Phl. *jakar*, *yakar*, New Pers. *jigar*, Bal. *jagar*, N. Bal. *jaγar*, Kurd. *jark*, Oss. *igar*. Av. *sukuruna* 'porcupine,' Phl. *sukur*, New Pers. *sugur(nah)*, Gab. *sīxur*, Afγ. *škōṇ*, *škuṇ*, Bal. *sīkun*, N. Bal. *sīxun*.

k > *kᵢ*.

§ 117. The palatalization of *k* to *kᵢ* is found in Iranian.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'hill,' Kurd. *kīāh*, etc. (see § 114). Av. *kata* 'house' Kāš., Kuhr. *kiyah*, Nat. *kiah*, Yidg. *kyē*, etc. (see following §).

k > *c*, *č*.

§ 118. The change of *k* to *c* is very rare in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects *c* or *č* is not infrequently developed from an original *k*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kirāta* 'name of a degraded tribe,' Prāk. *cila(ḍ)a* (but *kirāya* 'monkey'). Skt. *kunda* 'turner,' Pāli *cunda*. Skt. *kṛṣi* 'agriculture,' Pāli *kasi*, Uṛ. *cāsa*, *tāsa*, Bang. *cās*. Skt. *gōṣṭhika* 'belonging to a village,' Sindhī *gōṭhēcō*.

[Here may be noted the Kaśmīrī change of *k* to *c* in the formation of the feminine, e. g. Kaśm. *bātuk* 'drake,' *bātūc* 'duck.']

b. Iranian. Av. *kata* 'house,' Phl. *katak*, New Pers. *kad(ah)*, Zaf. *kī*, Kāš. *kiyah*, Vōn. *kē*, Kuhr. *kiyah*, Nat. *kiah*, Wāxī *kat*, Šiγn. *čīd*, Sarq. *cēd*, Minj. *kai*, Yidg. *kyē*. Av. *kərəta* 'knife,' Phl. *kārt*, New Pers. *kārd*, N. Afγ. *cārah*, Bal. *kārc(a)*, N. Bal. *khārca*, Kurd. *kīr(d)*, Oss. *khard*. New Pers. *kaik* 'flea,' Kurd. *kēc*, *kac*. Av. *ka* 'who?' Sarq. *coi*, Tag. Oss. *cī*, etc. (see § 116). Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Phl. *sūcan*, Pāz. *sūzan*, *sōzan*, New Pers. *sōzan*, Gab. *sajan*, Zaf., Kāš. *sōzō*, Wāxī *sič*, Sarq. *sīč*, Bal. *sūcin*, *sīcīn*, N. Bal. *sīšin*, *šīšan*, *šīšīn*, *sēšīn*, Kurd. *šūšin*.

k > *t*.

§ 119. The change of *k* to *t* is very rare. In many of its occurrences it is due to dissimilation.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṛṣi* 'agriculture,' Ur. *tāsa*, *cāsa*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kakkōla* 'bdellium,' Pāli *takkōla*, Siṁh. *takul*.

k > *p*.

§ 120. The change of *k* to *p* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jalūkikā* 'leech,' Pāli *jalupikā*, *jalūka* (due in this example to dissimilation).

k > *bh*.

§ 121. The change of *k* to *bh* occurs with extreme rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *śīkara* 'spray,' Prāk. *sī(h)ara*, *sībhara*, Pāli *sīkara*. [See now Pischel, § 206.]

k > *y*.

§ 122. The change of *k* to *y* is only apparent. The *k* is actually lost through the transition-grade *g*, and *y* is then inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of the *k*. The phenomenon is far less frequent in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nārikēla* 'cocoanut,' Nāip. *narival*, Bang. *nārēl*, Bihārī *nāriyar*, Hindī *nāriyal*, Panj. *narēlu*, *nalēru*, Sindhī *nārēlu*, *nāīru*, Guj. *nāriyaḷ*, Mar. *nāraḷ*. Skt. *ākāra*

'figure,' Prāk. *āgāra*, Māhār. *āyāra*, *ākāra*, Pāli *ākāra*. Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Prāk. *kōila*, Uṛ. *kōyiḷa*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kōil*, Guj. *kōyal*, Mar. *kōkīl*, Siṁh. *kovullā*, Anglo-Ind. *koïl*. Skt. *(u)daka* 'water,' Jāina Prāk. *daga*, Pāli *daka*, *ōka*, Siṁh. *daga*, *daya*, *diya*. Skt. *cakōra* 'sort of bird,' Eḷu *siyuru*, Siṁh. *siyuru*, *sivru*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *māṭikān* 'mare,' New Pers. *mādigān*, Bal. *mādyān*, N. Bal. *māδin*, *māεin*.

k > *v*.

§ 123. The change of *k* to *v*, like that of *k* to *y*, is only apparent. The *k* is actually lost through the transition-grade *g*, and *v* is then inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of the *k*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuka* 'parrot,' Pāli *suka*, *suva*. Skt. *nakula* 'mongoose,' Pāli *nakula*, Uṛ., Bang. *nēul*, Hindī *nēval*, Panj. *nēul*, Sindhī *nōru*, Guj. *nōliyu*. Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Siṁh. *kovullā*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Skt. *vikāśatē* 'appears,' Phl. *gukās* 'witness,' Pāz. *guvāh*, *guvāi*, New Pers. *guvā(h)*. Skt. *vikarōti* 'transposes,' Phl. *gukarīṭanδ*, Pāz. *guhārāδ*, New Pers. *guvārad*. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Phl. *sak*, *sag*, New Pers. *sag*, Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, Tāl. *sipā*, Afγ. *spai*, Kurd. *sah*.

k > *š*.

§ 124. The change of *k* to *š* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūka* 'needle,' N. Bal. *sīšin*, *šīšan*, *šīšīn*, *sēšīn*, etc. (see § 118).

k > *h*.

§ 125. The change of *k* to *h* is rare in the Indian and especially rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sphaṭika* 'crystal,' Prāk. *phaliha*, *phaliya*, *phaḍia*, Pāli *phalika*. Skt. *śrikā* 'beauty,' Māhār. Prāk. *sirihā*. Skt. *nikaśa* 'touchstone,' Prāk. *nihasa*, Jāina Prāk. *nihasa*, *nighasa*,

Pāli *nikasa*. Skt. *sṛjaṇakāra* 'creator,' Sindhī *sirjanahāru*. Skt. *ākāśa* 'sky,' Prāk. *āyāsa*, Pāli *ākāsa*, Siṁh. *ahasa*, *āsa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Kurd. *sah*, etc. (see § 123).

k > *z*, *š*.

§ 126. The change of *k* to *z*, *š* occurs with extreme rarity in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Pāz. *sūzan*, *sōzan*, New Pers. *sōzan*, Zaf., Kāš. *sōzō*, Kurd. *šūšin*, etc. (see § 118).

Aphaeresis of k.

§ 127. The loss of an initial *k* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *kuddāla* 'hoe,' Uṛ. *kōṛā*, Bang. *kōḍal*, Sindhī *kōṛarī*, Guj. *kōdārō*, Siṁh. *udalu*, *udālla*.

Syncope of k.

§ 128. The loss of an internal *k* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects, although it is noteworthy that the phenomenon occurs more often in the Middle than in the New period.

a. Indian. Skt. *avakāśa* 'opportunity,' Prāk. *ōāsa*, *avayāsa*, Pāli *ōkāsa*, *avakāsa*. Skt. *nakula* 'mongoose,' Uṛ., Bang., Panj. *nēul*, Sindhī *nōru*, Guj. *nōliyu*, etc. (see § 123). Skt. *nārikēla* 'cocoanut,' Bang. *nārēl*, Panj. *narēlu*, *nalēru*, Sindhī *nārēlu*, *nāīru*, Mar. *nāraḷ*, etc. (see § 122). Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Prāk. *kōila*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kōil*, etc. (see § 122). Skt. *carmakāra* 'leather-worker,' Pāli *cammakāra*, Uṛ. *camāra*, Bang. *cāmār*, Hindī, Panj. *camār*, Sindhī *camāru*, Guj. *camār*, Mar. *cāmhār*.

Apocope of k.

§ 129. The loss of a final *k* is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *bąḍaka* 'servant,' Phl. *bandak*, New Pers. *bandah*, Phl. *cārak* 'means,' Pāz. *cāra*, New Pers. *cārah*, Afy. *cāra*, *čara*. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Gab. *sabā*, *savā*,

Kāš. *aspā*, *asbā*, Samn. *asba*, Tāl. *sipā*, Afγ. *spai*, etc. (see § 123). Skt. *navaka* 'lad,' New Pers. *navah*, Kurd. *lāv*, *lō*, *lau(k)*. Phl. *xānak* 'house,' New Pers. *xānah*, Kurd. *xānī*, Mukrī *xānū*.

Epenthesis of k.

§ 130. The insertion of *k* is very rare (merely graphic?).

b. Iranian. Av. *miθaoxta* 'lie,' Phl. *mīṯōkxt*, Pāz. *mīduxt*.

lh = kh.

§ 131. Indo-Iranian *kh* remains in general unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nakha* 'nail,' Prāk., Pāli *nakha*, Gyp. *nay*. Skt. *likhati* 'writes,' Prāk. *lihaï*, Pāli *likhati*, Kaśm. *lekh*, Hindī *likhnā*, Guj. *lakhavuṁ*, Mar. *lihiṇēṁ*, Siṁh. *liyanavā*. Skt. *khara* 'donkey,' Prāk., Pāli *khara*. Skt. *khādati* 'eats,' Prāk. *khāï*, Pāli *khādati*, Uṛ. *khāībā*, Bang. *khāïtē*, Hindī *khānā*, Panj. *khāṇā*, Sindhī *khāīṇu*, Guj. *khāvuṁ*, Mar. *khāṇēṁ*, Siṁh. *kanavā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Phl., New Pers. *xar*, Wāxī *xur*, Šiγn. *har*, Sarq. *car*, *sar*, Sangl. *xar*, Minj. *xara*, Yidg. *xuruh*, Afγ. *xar*, N. Bal. *khar*, *xar*, Kurd. *k(i)ar*, Zaza *xar*, Oss. *xarag*. Av. *naxa* 'nail,' Phl. *nāxān*, New Pers. *nāxun*, Afγ. *nūk*, Bal. *nakun*, *nāhun*, N. Bal. *nāxun*, Kurd. *nainuk*, Oss. *nix*. Av. *aēxa* 'ice,' New Pers. *yax*, Wāxī *yix*, Šiγn. *yax*, Yidg. *yux*, Yaγn. *ɨx*, Dig. Oss. *yax*, Tag. *ɨx*. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Afγ. *max*.

kh > k.

§ 132. In the Indian dialects the deaspirization of an original *kh* is very rare, but in the later Iranian dialects the phenomenon is somewhat more frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *khalu* 'indeed,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *ku*, lit. Prāk. *khu*, Pāli *khō*, *khalu*. Skt. *khā* 'spring,' Pāli *kā*, *khā*, Gyp. *chev*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Kurd. *k(ɨ)ar*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *naxa* 'nail,' Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, etc. (see preceding §).

kh > *gh*, *γ*.

§ 133. The change of *kh* to *gh*, *γ*, is found occasionally in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rēkha* 'line,' Prāk. *rēha*, Pāli *rēkha*, Hindī, Panj. *rēkh*, Sindhī *rēghī*, Guj. *rēg*, *rēkh*, Mar. *rēgh*. Skt. *śṛṁkhala* 'chain,' Prāk. *saṁkala*, *saṁkhalā*, *siṁkhalā*, Pāli *saṁkhalā*, Kaśm. *hāṁhala*, Ur. *sāṁkala*, *sāṁkara*, Bang. *śikal*, *sikal*, Panj., Sindhī *saṁghar*, Guj. *sāṁkal*, Mar. *sā(ṁ)kal*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śākhā* 'twig,' Phl. *šāk*, New Pers. *šāx*, *šāγ*.

kh > *c*.

§ 134. The change of *kh* to *c* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Sarq. *car*, *sar*, etc. (see § 131).

kh > *s*.

§ 135. This change, like the preceding one, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Sarq. *sar*, *car*, etc. (see § 131).

kh > *h*.

§ 136. The change of *kh* to *h* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, although it occurs less frequently in the latter group of languages.

a. Indian. Skt. *sakhi* 'friend,' Prāk. *sahi*, Pāli *sakhi*, Sindhī *sahī*. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Prāk. *muha*, Pāli *mukha*, Bihārī *mu(ṁ)h*, Hindī *muṁh*, Panj. *māṁhu*, *muhuṁ*, Sindhī *muṁhuṁ*, *mukhu*, Siṁh. *muva*, Gyp. *muy*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Šiγn. *har*, etc. (see § 131). Av. *naxa* 'nail,' Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, etc. (see § 131).

kh > *y*.

§ 137. The change of *kh* to *y*, like that of *k* to *y* (see § 122), is only apparent.

a. Indian. Skt. *likhati* 'writes,' Siṁh. *liyanavā*, etc. (see § 131).

kh > *v*.

§ 138. The change of *kh* to *v*, which is, like that of *k* to *v* (see § 123), only apparent, occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Siṁh. *muva*, etc. (see § 136).

Prothesis of kh.

§ 139. Prothetic *kh* is found quite frequently in the Iranian dialects prefixed to words which originally began with vowels.

b. Iranian. Av. *aēšma* 'wrath,' Phl. *xēšm*, New Pers. *xišm*. Av. *arəša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Māz. *āš*, Siyn. *yurš*, Sarq. *yürx*, Yidg. *yarš*, Afy. *yaš*, Kurd. *virc*, *hirc*, *hirš*, Zaza *xēc*, Oss. *ars*. Gk. *ὠόν* 'egg,' Phl. *xāyak*, New Pers. *xāyah*, Gab. *vuc*, Afy. *hā*, Bal. *haik*, Kurd. *haẓik*, *hī*, *hēk*, Oss. *aikh(a)*. Skt. *āma* 'raw,' New Pers. *xām*, Wāxī *yūng*, Afy. *ōm*, *ūm*, Bal. *hāmag*, N. Bal. *hāmay*, Kurd. *xāv*. **gwher*

g = *g*.

§ 140. Indo-Iranian *g* is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, except for the Iranian law of spirantization which develops *γ* from *g*, unless the *g* is either initial or is preceded by a nasal or a sibilant.

a. Indian. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gaḍḍaha*, *gaddaha*, Pāli *gadrabha*, Ass. *gādh*, Nāip. *gadāha*, Uṛ. *gadhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, Bihārī, Hindī *gadhā*, Panj. *gadhā*, *gaddō*, Sindhī *gaṛahu*, Guj. *gadhēḍō*, Mar. *gāḍhav*. Skt. *yugala* 'pair,' Apab. Prāk. *jualu*, Pāli *yugala*, Uṛ. *jugaḷa*, Bang., Hindī, Panj., Guj. *jugal*, Mar. *juḷā*, *jūḷ*, *juvaḷ*.

b. Iranian. Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Old Pers. *garmapada*, Phl., New Pers. *garm*, Šiyn. *garm*, Sarq. *gürm*, *šürm*, Afy. *γārma*, Bal., Kurd. *garm*, Dig. Oss. *γarm*, Tag. *qarm*. Av. *gāu* 'cow,' Phl., New Pers. *gō*, *gav*, Zaf., Kāš., Vōn. *gō*, Kuhr. *gōb*, Wāxī *γau*, *γū*, Šiyn. *šāv*, Sarq. *šao*, Sangl., Minj. *γao*, Yaγn. *gova*, Afy. *γvā*, Bal. *gōk*, N. Bal. *gōx*, Kurd. *gā*, Dig. Oss. *γog*, Tag. *qūg*. Skt. *bhōga* 'joint,' Bal. *bōg*, N. Bal. *bōγ*.

g > *k*.

§ 141. The change of the voiced *g* to the voiceless *k* is not frequent in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects it is still more rare, excepting in the Tagaurish Ossetish, which has *q* initially for Indo-Iranian *g* (Digaurish *γ*).

a. Indian. Skt. *nagara* 'city,' Prāk. *ṇaara*, Māhār. Prāk. *nayara*, Pāiś. Prāk. *nakara*, New Ind. dialects *nāir*, *nēr*, Siṁh. *nuvara*, *niyari*. Skt. *maga* 'Magian,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *maka*. Skt. *chagala* 'goat,' Pāli *chakala*. Skt. *ajagara* 'boa-constrictor,' Pāli *ajakara*, *ajagara*. Skt. *garuḍa* 'mythical bird,' Prāk. *garuḍa*, *garuḷa*, *galuḍa*, Pāli *garuḷa*, Eḷu *gurulu*, Siṁh. *kurulla*. Skt. *ga(ṁ)bhīra* 'deep,' Prāk. *gahira*, Pāli *ga(ṁ)bhīra*, Uṛ. *gahira*, Hindī *gahirā*, *gaharā*, Sindhī *ḡahirō*, Siṁh. *gämburu*, *kumburu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Tag. Oss. *qarm*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Old Pers. *gauša*, Phl., New Pers. *gōš*, Šīr., Bahb. *guš*, Nāy. *gūš*, Wāxī *γûš*, *γiš*, Šiγn. *γūš*, Sarq. *γāul*, Yidg. *γū*, Afγ. *γvaiγ*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*.

g > *gh*, *γ*.

§ 142. The aspirization of Indo-Iranian *g* is rare and only sporadic in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects *g* becomes *γ* regularly, excepting initially or after a nasal or a sibilant. In the Pāmir dialects, in Afγān, and in Digaurish Ossetish Indo-Iranian *g* becomes *γ* also initially.

a. Indian. Skt. *gṛha*, *gēha* 'house,' Prāk. *gēha*, Apab. Prāk. *gharu*, Pāli *ghara*, *gaha*, *gēha*, Kaśm. *gahar*, *gar*, Old Hindī *gēha*, New Ind. dialects *ghar*, excepting Mar. *gēh*, Siṁh. *gē*, *geya*, Gyp. *kher*, *kyel*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pāli *gōdhūma*, Ass. *ghēṁhu*, Nāip. *gahūṁ*, Uṛ. *ga(ha)ma*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūṁ*, Hindī *gō(ṁ)huṁ*, *gēhuṁ*, *ghēuṁ*, Panj. *ghēuṁ*, Sindhī *ḡēhuṁ*, Guj. *ghaūṁ*, Gyp. *giv*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *yuga* 'yoke,' New Pers. *juγ*, Šiγn. *yuγ*, Sarq. *yūγ*, Kurd. *jūk*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Wāxī *γûš*, *γiš*, Šiγn.

γūš, Sarq. *γaul*, Yidg. *γū*, Afγ. *γvaiγ*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *gaδa* 'thief,' Afγ. *γal*. Av. *mərəγa* 'bird,' Phl. *muγ*, *murv*, New Pers. *muγ*, Māz. *maγ*, Afγ. *maγa*, Kurd. *mrišk*, Oss. *maγ*. Phl., Pāz., New Pers. *nān* 'bread,' Saf. *nū*, Nāy. *nāu*, Minj. *naγan*, Cent. Dial. *nūn*, Bal. *nagan*, N. Bal. *naγan*.

g > *y*.

§ 143. The change of *g* to *y* is only apparent. The *g* is in reality lost, and *y* is then inserted to prevent the resulting hiatus (cf. §§ 122, 137).

a. Indian. Skt. *jagat* 'world,' Māhār. Prāk. *jaya*, Sindhī *jagu*, *jagaṭu*. Skt. *nagara* 'city,' Māhār. Prāk. *nayara*, Siṁh. *niyari*, *nuvara*, etc. (see § 141). Skt. *nāga* 'snake,' Prāk., Pāli *nāga*, Siṁh. *nayā*, *nā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *zairi-gaona* 'having a golden colour,' Phl. *zarīngūn*, New Pers. *zargūn*, Afγ. *zaryūn*.

g > *v*.

§ 144. The change of *g* to *v* in the Indian dialects is only an apparent one, the *v* being really inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of the original *g* (cf. §§ 123, 138). In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, the change of *g* to *v* is a real one. The phenomenon does not occur frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *nagara* 'city,' Siṁh. *nuvara*, *niyari*, etc. (see § 141).

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *magu* 'Magian,' Phl. *magū*, *magūpaṭ*, *mavpaṭ*, New Pers. *muγ*, *mōγ*, *mōbad*. Av. *mərəγa* 'bird,' Phl. *muγ*, *murv*, etc. (see § 142). New Pers. *xargōš* 'hare' (lit. 'donkey-eared,' Av. **xara-gaoša*), Kurd. *karvaš*.

g > *ǩ*.

§ 145. The change of *g* to *ǩ* is excessively rare, although it is sometimes found initially in sporadic words in Šiγnī and Sariqolī.

b. Iranian. Av. *gāu* 'cow,' Šiγn. *zāv*, Sarq. *ẑao*, etc. (see § 140). Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Sarq. *ẑürm*, *gürm*, etc. (see § 140).

g > *h*.

§ 146. The change of *g* to *h* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāginēya* 'sister's son,' Pāli *bhāgiṇeyya*, Siṁh. *bähänā*, *bānā*.

Syncope of g.

§ 147. The loss of an internal *g* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, although the New Indian does not suffer syncope of *g* as frequently as do the Middle Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāgadhēya* 'share,' Prāk. *bhāadēha*, Māhār. Prāk. *bhāya*, Pāli *bhāga*. Skt. *sṛgāla* 'jackal,' Prāk. *siāla*, Pāli *sigāla*, Uṛ. *śiāla*, *śēāla*, Bang. *siāl*, Siṁh. *hivalā*. Skt. *āgata* 'arrived,' Māg. Prāk. *āade*. Skt. *dviguṇa* 'two-fold,' Prāk. *duuṇa*, Pāli *diguṇa*, Hindī, Panj. *dūnā*, Sindhī *ḍūṇā*, Mar. *dūṇ*. Skt. *bhaginī* 'sister,' Prāk. *bahiṇī*, *bhaïṇī*, Pāli *bhaginī*, Uṛ. *bhāuṇī*, *bhaūṇī*, Bang. *baïn*, Hindī *bahin*, Panj. *bhāiṇ*, *bāiṁh*, Sindhī *bhēṇu*, Guj. *bēhēn*, Mar. *bahīṇ*, *bhāiṇ*. Skt. *yugala* 'pair,' Apab. Prāk. *jualu*, Mar. *juḷā*, *jūḷ*, *juvaḷ*, etc. (see § 140).

b. Iranian. Av. *draoγa* 'lie,' Old Pers. *drauga*, Phl. *drōg*, *drōγ*, New Pers. *durōγ*, Māz. *darū*, Tāl. *dū*, Sarq. *durū*, Afγ. *darōγ*, Bal. *d(a)rōg*, N. Bal. *drōγ*, Kurd. *darāv*, *darau*. Av. *ci* 'what?' + *gaona* 'kind,' Phl. *cigūn(īh)*, New Pers. *cigūnah*, *cūn*.

gh = *gh*.

§ 148. Indo-Iranian *gh* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ghaṭa* 'jar,' Prāk. *ghaḍa*, Hindī *ghaḍā*, other New Ind. dialects *ghaḍī*, Gyp. *khōrō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maēγa* 'cloud,' Phl., New Pers. *mēγ*, Dig. Oss. *mēγa*, Tag. *mīγ*.

gh > *k*.

§ 149. The change of *gh* to *k* occurs very rarely as a final in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *aŝəmaoγa* 'destroying righteousness,' Phl. *ahramōk*. Av. *daγa* 'conflagration,' Phl. *dāγ*, New Pers. *dāγ*, Bal. *dāg*, N. Bal. *dāy*, Kurd. *dak*.

gh > *kh*.

§ 150. The change of *gh* to *kh* occurs regularly in Pāiśācī Prākrit.

a. Indian. Skt. *mēgha* 'cloud,' Prāk. *mēha*, Pāiś. Prāk. *mēkha*, Pāli *mēgha*, Hindī *mēṁh*, *mīṁh*, Panj. *mīṁh*, *mīhaṁ*, Sindhī *mīṁhu*.

gh > *g*.

§ 151. The deaspirization of *gh* is very rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, excepting in Kaśmīrī.

a. Indian. Skt. *ghōṭaka* 'horse,' Prāk. *ghōḍaa*, Pāli *ghōṭaka*, New Ind. dialects *ghōṛa*, but Kaśm. *guṛ*, Gyp. *garō*. Skt. *vighaṭatē* 'perishes,' Pāli *vighāṭēti*, Uṛ., Bang. *bigaḍa*, Hindī, Panj. *bigaḍ*, Sindhī *bigiḍ*, Guj. *bagaḍ*, Mar. *bighaḍ*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *γulγul* 'chatter,' Kurd. *gālagāl*, *galgāl*.

gh > *h*.

§ 152. The change of *gh* to *h* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *laghu* 'light,' Prāk., Pāli *lahu*, Siṁh. *lahu*, *luhu*. Skt. *araghaṭṭa* 'well-wheel,' Hindī, Panj. (*a*)*rahaṭ*, Sindhī *ar*(*a*)*ṭu*, Guj. *rēṁṭ*, Mar. *rahāṭ*. Skt. *mēgha* 'cloud,' Prāk. *mēha*, Hindī *mēṁh*, *mīṁh*, Panj. *mīṁh*, *mīhaṁ*, Sindhī *mīṁhu*, etc. (see § 150).

b. Iranian. Av. **baγa-stāna* 'abode of God,' Old Pers. τὸ Βαγίσταγον ὄρος, Pāz. *baγ*, New Pers. *bahistūn*, *bahistān*, *bīstūn*.

Syncope of gh.

§ 153. The loss of Indo-Iranian *gh* internally is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raγa* nom. prop., Old Pers. *raga*, Phl. *rak*, *rāi*, New Pers. *rai*.

ṇ, n̂

§ 154. Of the Middle and New Indian dialects the Sindhī, Assamese, and Nāipālī alone have retained *ṇ*, *n̂*, pronounced *ṇg* and *nj*. In the rest of the New Indian and in all the Iranian dialects *ṇ* and *n̂* have been lost. The Sindhī *ṇ* and *n̂* are of secondary development in the majority of their occurrences.

c = c.

§ 155. Indo-Iranian *c* is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, although in the latter group internal Indo-Iranian *c* is rare, excepting in Pahlavī and Balūcī.

a. Indian. Skt. *catvāri* 'four,' Prāk. *cattāri*, *caüro*, Pāli *catu*, Ur., Bang. *cāri*, Kaśm. *čōr*, Hindī, Panj. *cār*, Sindhī *cāri*, Guj., Mar. *cār*. Skt. *nīcē* 'beneath,' Ur., Bang. *nīca*, Hindī *nīcū*, Panj. *nīcōṁ*, Sindhī, Guj. *nīcē*, Mar. *nīc*.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Phl., New Pers. *cašm*, Gab. *cam*, Sīv., Zaf. *caš*, Kāš., Vōn. *cam*, Kuhr. *caš*, Samn., Māz. *cas*, Gīl. *ciš*, Wāxī *cōšm*, Šiγn. *čēm*, Sarq. *čam*, Sangl. *šam*, Minj. *cam*, Yidg. *cum*, Bal. *cam*, N. Bal. *cham*, Kurd. *cāv*, Zaza *cim*, Dig. Oss. *časta*, Tag. *časth*. Av. *caxra* 'wheel,' Phl. *caxr*, New Pers. *carx*, *cahr*, Kāš. *cōrā*, *cīr*, Dig. Oss. *calx*. Av. *ciθra* 'appearance,' Old Pers. *ciθ'a*, Phl. *citrē*, *cihr(ak)*, New Pers. *cihr(ah)*, Afγ. *čīra*, *sīra*, Kurd. *cāra*.

c > č.

§ 156. The change of the palatal *c* to the affricative *č* is very rare in the Indian dialects, excepting in Kaśmīrī, Kafirī, and East Bangālī. In early tadbhavas, dēśajas, and before non-palatal

vowels the Marāṭhī pronounces *c* as *č*, and *j* as *ǰ*, but before the palatal vowels *i*, *e*, in tatsamas and late tadbhavas the old sounds of *c* and *j* are retained. The Iranian dialects show few instances of a change of *c* to *č*, excepting in the Persian dialects and in Afγān.

a. Indian. Skt. *catvāri* 'four,' Kaśm. *čōr*, etc. (see preceding §). Kaf. *māč* 'man,' Sindhī *mācu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl., New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxī *čabur*, *čabūr*, Šiγn. *čavor*, *čavar*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safor*, Minj. *cafīr*, Yidg. *čīr*, Afγ. *čalōr*, Bal. *cār*, N. Bal. *cyār*, Kurd. (Sihna) *cavār*, Dig. Oss. *čuphphar*, Tag. *čiphphar*. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Šiγn. *čēm*, Sarq. *čam*, Dig. Oss. *časta*, Tag. *časth*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Phl. *pazēd*, New Pers. *pazad*, Gab. *paxa*, Kāš. *patan*, Māz. *paxta*, Wāxī *pōcam*, Afγ. *paxavul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phašaγ*, Kurd. *pātin*, Bazazid *pāthin*, Dig. Oss. *fičun*, Tag. *fičin*.

c > *ch*.

§ 157. The change of *c* to *ch* is found initially in North Balūcī.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' N. Bal. *cham*, etc. (see § 155).

c > *j*.

§ 158. The change of the tenuis *c* to the media *j* is excessively rare in the Indian dialects. It is, on the other hand, common between vowels in the Persian dialects, where the New Persian shows *z* (see § 167).

a. Indian. Skt. *acalā* 'earth,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Dhauli) *ajalā*, Māhār. Prak. *ayalā*. Skt. *sruc* 'ladle,' Pāli *suja*. Skt. *māca* 'glass,' Mar. (vulg.) *māj*.

b. Iranian. Av. *fraŋsaocayāhi* 'burnest,' Phl. *sōcēm*, Pāz. *sōzēt*, New Pers. *sōzam*, Gab. *sajan*, Māz., Gīl. *√sūj*, Sarq. *sauz*, Afγ. *sējal*, *svajavul*, *sēzal*, Bal. *sucag*, N. Bal. *sušaγ*, Dig. Oss. *sōjun*, Tag. *sūjin*. Av. *haca+aδairi* 'from beneath,' Phl. *azēr*, Pāz. *ažēr*, New Pers. *zēr*, Šīr. *šī*, Zaf. *šēr*, other Central

dialects *jīr*, Samn. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judaeo-Pers. *zēr*, Kurd. *zir*, Tag. Oss. *dala*. Av. *vaocaṯ* 'spoke,' Phl. *vāc(ak)* 'voice,' New Pers. *vāž*, *bāj*, Gab. *vivaji*, Zaf. *vāž*, Kāš. *vōj*, Vōn. *bōjū*, Kuhr. *bavōjī*, Nāy. *ūvāj*.

$c > \check{j}$.

§ 159. The change of *c* to *ǰ* is excessively rare. Cases of it are found in Afγān and Ossetish.

b. Iranian. Av. *frasaocayāhi* 'burnest,' Afγ. *sēǰal*, *svaǰavul*, *sēẋal*, Dig. Oss. *sōǰun*, Tag. *sūǰin*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *raocah* 'day,' Old Pers. *raucah*, Phl. *rōc(īh)*, New Pers. *rōz*, Gab. *rūj*, Sīv. *rōšā*, Caspian dialects *rū*, but Tāl. *rōž*, *rūž*, Afγ. *rvaǰ*, Bal. *rōc*, N. Bal. *rōš*, Kurd. *ruž*, *rō(ž)*.

$c > \dot{t}h$.

§ 160. The change of *c* to *ṭh*, like all other changes in which the cerebrals are concerned, is confined to the Indian dialects. It is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *cañcu* 'beak,' Uṛ. *thaṇṭ*, *thoṁṭ*, Bang. *ṭhōṁṭ*, *cōṁṭ*, Hindī *ṭhōṁṭh*, *cōṁc*, Guj. *cāṁc*, Mar. *cōṁc*.

$c > t$.

§ 161. The change of *c* to *t* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *cikitsā* 'cure,' Jāina Prāk. *tēgicchā*, Pāli *tikicchā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Kāš. *patan*, Kurd. *pātin*, etc. (see § 156). Old Pers. *ciščiy* 'anything,' New Pers. *cīz*, Kurd. *tišt*.

$c > th, \theta$.

§ 162. The change of *c* to *th*, *θ*, is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *cañcu* 'beak,' Uṛ. *thaṇṭ*, *thōṁṭ*, etc. (see § 160).

b. Iranian. Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Bayazid Kurd. *pāthin*, etc. (see § 156).

c > *d*.

§ 163. The change of *c* to *d* occurs with extreme rarity excepting in Siṁhalese.

a. Indian. Skt. *ācārya* 'teacher,' Māhār. Prāk. *āyariya*, Pāli *ācāriya*, Siṁh. *ādurā*, Maladive *eduru*. Skt. *mucanti* 'they release,' Prāk. *mucaï*, Māhār. Prāk. *muyaï*, Pāli *muñcati*, Siṁh. *mudanavā*.

c > *y*.

§ 164. The change of *c* to *y* is only an apparent one, *y* being inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the syncope of *c* (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143).

a. Indian. Skt. *ācārya* 'teacher,' Māhār. Prāk. *āyariya*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *mucanti* 'they release,' Māhār. Prāk. *muyaï*, etc. (see preceding §).

c > *s*.

§ 165. In Assamese and West Hindī *c* is always pronounced *s*. The Siṁhalese often changes *c* to *s*, which may further develop into *h*. Of the Iranian dialects the Afγān shows the development of *s* from *c* most frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *cakra* 'wheel,' Prāk., Pāli *cakka*, Ass. *cāk* (pron. *sāk*), Uṛ. *cak*, E. Hindī *cāk*, W. Hindī *cakkī* (pron. *sakkī*), Panj. *cakk*, Sindhī *caku*, Guj., Mar. *cāk*, Siṁh. *sak*, *hak*. Skt. *pacati* 'cooks,' Pāli *pacati*, New Ind. dialects √*pac*, Siṁh. *pāsavanavā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ciθra* 'appearance,' Afγ. *sīra*, *čīra* (see § 155).

c > *š*.

§ 166. The change of *c* to *š* occurs very rarely in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *haca* 'from,' Old Pers. *hacā*, Phl. *aj*, New Pers. *az*, *s(i)*, Wāxī, Sarq. *ź*, Afγ. *ǰ*, Bal. *ac*, *aš*, Kurd. *aš*, *ś(a)*. Phl. *nācuk* 'tender,' New Pers. *nāzuk*, Kuhr. *naštar*. Phl. *(h)ēc* 'ever,' Pāz. *hēc(ī)*, New Pers. *(h)ēc*, *hēš*, Kāš. *ēc*. Av. *raocah*

'day,' Sīv. *rōšā*, N. Bal. *rōš*, etc. (see § 159). Phl. *cōp* 'wood,' New Pers. *cōb*, Šīr. *cūy*, Wāxī *šökk*, Sarq. *xaib*, Kurd. *cō*, Amarlu *šīv*.

c > *s*.

§ 167. The change of *c* to *s* is made regularly in New Persian between vowels, after *r*, and finally.

b. Iranian. Av. *tacaiti* 'runs,' Phl. *tācēt̰*, *tāsēt̰*, New Pers. *tāsad*, Wāxī *töcam*, Sarq. *taǰam*, Afy. *tašal*, Bal. *tacag*, N. Bal. *thašay*, Dig. Oss. *thajin*. Av. *raucah* 'day,' New Pers. *rōz*, etc. (see § 159). Av. *sacaiti* 'follows,' Phl. *sāxtanŏ*, New Pers. *sāsad*, Kāš. *basōj*, Judaeo-Pers. *sāsad*.

c > *š*.

§ 168. The change of *c* to *š*, which is closely akin to that discussed in the preceding paragraph, is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *huciθra* 'beautiful,' Phl. *hucihr*, New Pers. *hujīr*, *xujīr*, *hušīr*. Av. *raucah* 'day,' Tāl. *rōš*, *rūš*, Kurd. *rūš*, *rōš*, *rō*, etc. (see § 159). Old Pers. *καπίθη* 'measure for wheat,' Phl. *kapīc*, New Pers. *hašīš*, *kavīz*.

c > *h*.

§ 169. The change of *c* to *h* is made, as already noted in § 165, through the transition-grade *s*. It is not of common occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt. *cakra* 'wheel,' Siṁh. *hak*, *sak*, etc. (see § 165). Skt. *cōra* 'thief,' Prāk., Pāli *cōra*, New Ind. dialects and Gyp. *cōr*, Siṁh. *hora*, *hera*.

c > *č*.

§ 170. The change of *c* to *č* is found occasionally in the North Balūcī.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' N. Bal. *čyār*, etc. (see § 156).

Syncope of c.

§ 171. The loss of Indo-Iranian *c* occurs not infrequently in the

Indo-Iranian dialects. It is more common in the Middle than in the New Indian period. In the Iranian dialects, where the syncope is found least often, *c* is lost only in the vicinity of long vowels.

a. Indian. Skt. *vacana* 'voice,' Prāk. *vaaṇa*, *vacaṇa*, Pāli *vacana*, Sindhī *vacanu*. Skt. *sūcī* 'needle,' Prāk. *sūī*, Pāli *sūcī*, Uṛ., Bang. *sūcī*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *sūī*, Guj. *sōy*, Mar. *suī*, Gyp. *suv*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raocah* 'day,' Caspian dialects *rū*, Kurd. *rō*, *rōž*, *ruž*, etc. (see § 159).

ch = *ch*.

§ 172. It is only in the Indian dialects that *ch* occurs. Here, however, it is in general preserved unchanged.

a. Indian. Skt. √*chap* 'go' (?), Uṛ. *ṭipibā*, Bang. *chāpitē*, *cāpitē* 'to conceal,' *ṭēpitē*, Hindī *chāpanā*, *cāṁpanā* 'to print, to squeeze,' *tōpanā*, *ṭōpanā*, *ṭhapanā*, *ṭīpanā* 'to bury,' Sindhī *chāpaṇu*, *cāpaṇu* 'to shampoo,' *ṭapuḍaṇu*, *ṭhapaṇu*, Mar. *chāpaṇēṁ*, *cāpaṭaṇēṁ*, *ṭāp*, *ṭhapakā*, Anglo-Indian (*first*)*chop*, *shampoo*.

ch > *c*.

§ 173. The deaspirization of *ch* is a very rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. √*chap* 'go' (?), Bang. *cāpitē*, *chāpitē*, Hindī *cāṁpanā*, *chāpanā*, Sindhī *cāpaṇu*, *chāpaṇu*, Mar. *cāpaṭaṇēṁ*, *chāpaṇēṁ*, etc. (see preceding §).

ch > *ṭ*.

§ 174. The change of *ch* to *ṭ* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. √*chap* 'go' (?), Uṛ. *ṭipibā*, Bang. *ṭēpitē*, Hindī *ṭīpanā*, *ṭhapanā*, *ṭōpanā*, *tōpanā*, Sindhī *ṭapuḍanu*, *ṭhapaṇu*, Mar. *ṭāp*, *ṭhapaṇu*, etc. (see § 172).

ch > *ṭh*.

§ 175. The change of *ch* to *ṭh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. √*chap* 'go' (?), Hindī *ṭhapanā*, *ṭīpanā*, *ṭō-*

panā, *tōpanā*, Sindhī *ṭhapaṇu*, *ṭapuḍaṇu*, Mar. *ṭhapakā*, *ṭāp*, etc. (see § 172).

ch > *t*.

§ 176. The change of *ch* to *t* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. √*chap* 'go,' Hindī *tōpanā*, *ṭōpanā*, *ṭīpanā*, *ṭhapanā*, etc. (see § 172).

ch > *s*.

§ 177. Many New Indian dialects, especially Assamese, Bangālī, and Marāṭhī, as well as the others in sporadic instances, pronounce or write *s* instead of *ch*.

a. Indian. Skt. *pṛchati* 'asks,' Prāk. *pucchaï*, Pāli *pucchati*, Ur. *pūchanā*, *pacāra*, Bang. *puchitē*, Hindī *pūchanā*, Panj. *pucch*, Sindhī *puchaṇu*, Guj. *puchavuṁ*, Mar. *pusaṇēṁ*.

With this change of *ch* to *s* may perhaps be compared the cases where Iranian *s* = Indian *ch*, e.g.

Skt. *chāyā* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chāyā*, *chāā* 'beauty,' Pāli *chāyā* 'shadow,' Ur. *chāhīna*, Hindī *chāṁ(v)*, *chāṁh*, *chāōṁ*, Panj. *cā(ū)ṁ*, Sindhī *chāṁ(v)*, Guj. *cāṁy* : Av. *asaya*, Phl. *sāyak*, New Pers. *sāyah*, Bal. *sāig*, N. Bal. *sāi*, Kurd. *sī*.

j = *j*.

§ 178. Indo-Iranian *j* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jaṅgha* 'leg,' Prāk., Pāli *jaṁgha*, Nāip. *jāṅa*, Bang. *jāṁgī*, E. Hindī, Hindī *jāṁgh*, Panj. *jaṁgh*, Sindhī *jaṅgh*, *jaṁgh*, Guj., Mar. *jaṁghā*, *jāṁgh*, Gyp. *cang*. Skt. *bhrātṛjāyā* 'brother's wife,' Ur., Bang. *bhāūja*, Hindī *bhāij*, *bhāvaj*, *bhāujī*, *bhōjāī*, Sindhī *bhōjāī*, Mar. *bhāvajāī*. Skt. *bhrātṛja* 'nephew,' Hindī, Panj., Guj. *bhatījā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *zan*, Gab. *jan*, *yan(ūk)*, Sīv. *šin*, Zaf. *šan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *jan*, *jin*, *yan*, *šan*, Nāy. *yanah*, Samn. *šanikō*, Šiγn. *γin*, Sarq. *γīn*, *šin*, Minj. *šinga*, Afγ. *jinaī*, *jūnaī*, *jal*, Bal. *jan*, Kurd. *šin*, Zaza *jan*. Av. *jainti* 'kills,' Old Pers. *ajanam*, Phl. *zanēt*, New Pers. *zan*

ẓanad, Zaf. *baẓint*, Käš. *jidan*, Kuhr. *jindamūn*, Šiyn. *ẓīnam*, Sarq. *ẓanam*, Afy. *ẓanam*, Bal. *jaṇag*, Kurd. *ẓanin*. Old Pers. *bāji* 'tribute,' New Pers. *bāj*, *bāẓ*, *bāš*. Phl. *barējan* 'oven,' New Pers. *barējan*, Bal. *brijag*, *brējag*.

j > *gh*, *γ*.

§ 179. The change of *j* to *gh*, *γ*, is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Šiγn. *γin*, Sarq. *γīn*, *ǰin*, etc. (see preceding §).

j > *c*.

§ 180. The change of the media *j* to the tenuis *c* is regular in Paiśācī Prākrit according to the well-known rule of this dialect that all mediae or mediae aspiratae become tenues or tenues aspiratae. Elsewhere the change is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājan* 'king,' Prāk. *rāā*, Māhār. Prāk. *rāyā*, Paiś. Prāk. *rācā*, Pāli *rājā*, New Ind. dialects *rāū*, *rāv*, except Siṁh. *rada*, Maladive *radung*, Gyp. *ray*. Skt. *vrajati* 'wanders,' Prāk. *vaccaï*, Pāli *vajati*. Skt. *kambōja* 'Cambodia,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Dhauli) *kambōca*.

j > *jh*.

§ 181. The aspirization of an original *j* is a phenomenon of rare occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *jaṅgala* 'wild,' Old Hindī *jaṅgar*, New Ind. dialects *jaṁgalī*, except Ass. *jaṅghal*, Sindhī *jhaṁgalī*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *jana* 'person,' Bang. (Malda) *jhan*, Gyp. *jenō*.

j > *d*.

§ 182. The change of *j* to *d* is not uncommon in the Middle Indian dialects, and it is the regular change to which an original *j* is subject in Siṁhalese.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prāk. *jīhā*, *jibbhā*, Pāli *jivhā*, Ass. *jibā*, Näip. *jibrō*, Kaśm. *zēō*, New Ind. dialects *jībh* (Sindhī *jībh*), Siṁh. *diva*, Maladive *dū*, Gyp. *cib*. Skt. *jugupsati*

'despises,' Prāk. *du(g)ucchaï*, *du(g)uṁchaï*, *jhuṇaï*, *juucchaï*, Pāli *jigucchati*. Skt. *tējas* 'glory,' Prāk. *tēu*, Māhār. Prāk. *tēya*, Pāli *tēja*, Siṁh. *teda*.

j > *y*.

§ 183. The change of *j* to *y* is in the Indian dialects only an apparent one, *y* being really inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an intervocalic *j* (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 164). In the Iranian dialects an actual change of *j* to *y* is found, but it is very uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājan* 'king,' Māhār. Prāk. *rāyā*, etc. (see § 180). Skt. *samaja* 'herd,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *samaya*. Skt. *gaja* 'elephant,' Prāk. *gaya*, *gaa*, Pāli *gaja*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Gab. *yan(ūk)*, *jan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *yan*, *jan*, *jin*, *šan*, Nāy. *yanah*, etc. (see § 178).

j > *v*.

§ 184. The change of *j* to *v*, like that of *j* to *y* in the Indian dialects, is only apparent, *v* being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an intervocalic *j* (cf. §§ 123, 138, 144). The phenomenon is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājānah* 'of a king,' Prāk. *rāāṇō*, Śāk. Prāk. *lāvāṇō* (cf. also § 180). [See now Pischel, §§ 399–400.]

j > *z*.

§ 185. In the Iranian dialects the change of *j* to *z* is very frequent. In the Indian dialects, however, it is only in the North East, particularly in Assamese, Kaśmīrī, vulgar Bangālī (Rājbaṁśī and Eastern), and Bihārī, that *j* is pronounced *z*.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Kaśm. *zēō*, etc. (see § 182). Skt., Prāk., Pāli *jala* 'water,' Ass., Kaśm., vulgar Bang., Bihārī *jal* (pron. *zal*), Sindhī *jaru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jvaiti* 'lives,' Old Pers. *jīvāhy*, Phl. *zīvastanŏ*, New Pers. *zīstan*, Kāš. *vazandō*, *jiga*, Afγ. *žvandūn*),

Kurd. *šin*, *šiin*. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *zan*, etc. (see § 178). Kurd. *vējār* 'this time,' Bohtanī *vēsār*. Av. *jafra* 'deep,' Phl. *zufar*, *zafr*, New Pers. *žarf*, Judaeo-Pers. *zōrf*, Afγ. *šavar*, Bal. *juhl*, N. Bal. *jahl*, Kurd. *žōr*, Zaza *jōr*.

j > *š*.

§ 186. The change of *j* to *š*, which is closely akin to the one discussed in the preceding paragraph, is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Sīv. *šin*, Zaf. *šan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *šan*, *jan*, *jin*, *yan*, Samn. *šanikō*, Sarq. *šin*, *γin*, Minj. *šinga*, Kurd. *šin*, etc. (see § 178). Av. *jvaiti* 'lives,' Afγ. *švand(ūn)*, Kurd. *šiin*, *sīn*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *jafra* 'deep,' New Pers. *šarf*, Afγ. *šavar*, Kurd. *žōr*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *drājah* 'length,' Phl., Bal. *drāj*, N. Bal. *drāš*, Kurd. *dirēž*.

Syncope of j.

§ 187. The loss of an original intervocalic *j* is found occasionally in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājan* 'king,' Prāk. *rāā*, New Ind. dialects *rāū*, *rāv*, etc. (see § 180). Skt. *vyajana* 'fan,' Prāk. *viaṇa*, Hindī *bēnā*. Skt., Pāli *ajagara* 'boa-constrictor,' Mar. *ār*.

jh = *jh*.

§ 188. Original *jh* is excessively rare in the Indian dialects, and it is lacking altogether in the Iranian languages. In the majority of instances in the Indian dialects original *jh* is preserved unchanged.

a. Indian. Skt. *jhampa* 'leap,' Mar. *jhēṁp*.

jh > *j*.

§ 189. The deaspirization of *jh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jhalla* 'name of a degraded caste,' Jāina Prāk. *jalla*.

jh > *z*.

§ 190. In Assamese an original *jh* is written *j*, which is pronounced *z* (cf. § 185). Similarly the resultant *jh* of the Kaśmīrī is pronounced *z*.

a. Indian. Ass. *jāl* 'pungency' (pron. *zal*), Bang. *jhaluyā*, Hindī *jhāl*.

ṭ = *ṭ*.

§ 191. All cases in which cerebral letters are concerned are confined to the Indian dialects. Indian *ṭ* is preserved unchanged in the great majority of instances.

a. Indian. Skt. *truṭati* 'comes apart,' Prāk. *tuṭṭaï*, *tōḍaï*, U*r*. *tōḍanā*, Bang. *tōḍāṭē*, Sindhī *tōḍaṇu*, Guj. *tuṭavuṁ*, *tōḍavuṁ*, Mar. *tuṭaṇēṁ*, *tōḍanēṁ*. Skt. *kapāṭa* 'door,' Prāk. *kapāṭa*, U*r*., Bang. *kabāṭa*, Hindī, Panj., Mar. *kavāḍ*. Skt. √*c(h)uṭ* 'to cut off,' New Ind. dialects √*chuṭ*, but also Hindī *chōṛ*, Mar. *suṭ*, *sōḍ*.

ṭ > *ḍ*.

§ 192. The change of the tenuis *ṭ* to the media *ḍ* is the most frequent one to which Indian *ṭ* is subject. In the East New Indian dialects *ḍ* often interchanges with *ṛ* and this *ṛ* itself may further develop into *r*. No distinction is here made between *ḍ* and *ṛ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *aṭavī* 'forest,' Apab. Prāk. *aḍaï*, Pāli *aṭavī*. Skt. *bhaṭa* 'soldier,' Prāk. *bhaḍa*, Apab. *bhaḍu*, Pāli *bhaṭa*. Skt. *ghaṭa* 'jar,' Prāk. *ghaḍa*, Pāli *ghaṭa*, Hindī *ghaḍā*, other New Ind. dialects *ghaḍī*. Skt. *kīṭa* 'worm,' Prāk. *kīḍa*, Pāli *kīṭa*, U*r*., Bang., Hindī *kīḍā*, Sindhī *kiḍō*, Guj. *kīḍō*, Mar. *kīḍ*, *kiḍā*, Gyp. *kirī*. Skt., Pāli *kaṭāha* 'pan,' U*r*. *karaī*, *kahrāï*, *kaḍhēi*, Bang. *kaḍ(āī)*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kaḍāhī*, Guj. *kaḍhā*, *kaḍhaī*, Siṁh. *kulāva*.

ṭ > *ḍh*.

§ 193. The rare change of *ṭ* to *ḍh* seems to occur more often in the Middle than in the New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *saṭā* 'mane,' Prāk. *saḍhā*. Skt. *śakaṭikā*

'cart,' Prāk. *sayaḍhā*, Śāur. Prāk. *saaḍiā*, Pāli *sakaṭa*. Skt. *kāiṭabha* 'name of a demon,' Prāk. *kēḍhava*. Skt. *akṣapāṭa* 'arena,' E. Hindī *akhāṛh*, Hindī *akhāṛā*, Mar. *akhāḍā*.

ṭ > *t*.

§ 194. The decerebralization of Indian *ṭ* to *t* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭumbaka* 'house-holder,' Pāiś. Prāk. *kutumbaka*, *kuṭumbaka*, Pāli *kuṭumbaka*, *kuṭimbaka*.

ṭ > *p*.

§ 195. The change of *ṭ* to *p* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *karōṭi* 'pot,' Pāli *kaḷōpi*.

ṭ > *r*.

§ 196. The change of *ṭ* to *r* (cf. § 192) is not frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṭāha* 'pan,' Uṛ. *karaī*, *kahrāī*, *kaḍhēi*, etc. (see § 192). Skt. *cēṭa* 'servant,' Panj. *cērā*, *cēlā*, etc. (see following §).

ṭ > *l*.

§ 197. The change of *ṭ* to *l* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sphaṭika* 'crystal,' Prāk. *phalika*, *phaḍiha*, *phaḍia*, Pāli *phalika*. Skt. *karkaṭaka* 'crab,' Jāina Prāk. *kakkaḍa*, Pāli *kakkaṭaka*, Siṁh. *kakuluvā*, *kakuḷuvā*. Skt. *kaṭāha* 'pan,' Siṁh. *kulāva*, etc. (see § 192). Skt. *cēṭa* 'servant,' Prāk. *cēḍa*, Pāli *cēṭaka*, Uṛ., Bang. *cēlā*, Hindī *cēlā*, *cēḍā*, Panj. *cēlā*, *cērā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cēlō*, Mar. *cēlā*.

ṭ > *ḷ*.

§ 198. The change of *ṭ* to *ḷ* occurs especially in Siṁhalese, where *l* and *ḷ* are used indiscriminately, although the Maladive distinguishes sharply between *l* and *ḷ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kūṭa* 'peak,' Prāk. *kūḍa*, Pāli *kūṭa*, Siṁh. *kuḷu*. Skt. *sphōṭati* 'bursts forth,' Prāk. *phuṭṭaī*, *phuḍaī*, Pāli

phuṭati, Hindī *phuṭ*, Panj. *phuṭṭ*, other New Ind. dialects *phuṭ*, except Siṁh. *poḷanavā*.

ṭh = *ṭh*.

§ 199. The retention of *ṭh* without change is very rare in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *maṭha* 'college,' Prāk. *maḍha*, Mar. (dimin.) *maḍhī*, other New Ind. dialects *maṭh*.

ṭh > *ṭ*.

§ 200. The deaspirization of *ṭh* is very rare in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭhārī* 'axe,' Prāk. *kuḍhāra*, Pāli *kuṭhārī*, Uṛ. *kuṭāṛī*, *kuhṛari*, *kuṭāḍī*, Bang. *kuṛhīd*, *kuṛhāḍī*, Bihārī, Hindī *kulhāṛī*, *kuhāḍā*, Panj. *kuhāḍā*, *kuṁlhāṛā*, *kulhāḍā*, Sindhī, Guj. *kuhāṛō*, Mar. *kurhāī*, *kurhāṛ*.

ṭh > *ḍ*.

§ 201. The change of *ṭh* to *ḍ* is found occasionally in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pīṭha* 'pedestal,' Prāk. *pīḍha*, *pēḍha*, Pāli *pīṭha*, Bang. *piṁḍā*, Hindī, Panj. *pīḍhā*, Sindhī *pēḍahī*, Guj. *pēḍhī*, Mar. *pāṭ*. Skt. *paṭhana* 'reading,' Uṛ. *paḍhibā*, Bang. *paḍhitē*, Hindī, Panj. *paḍhanā*, Sindhī *paḍahaṇu*, Guj. *paḍhavuṁ*, Mar. *paḍhanēṁ*.

ṭh > *ḍh*.

§ 202. The change of *ṭh* to *ḍh* is the most common one of all those to which Indian *ṭh* is subject. It is especially characteristic of the Western dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pīṭha* 'pedestal,' Prāk. *pīḍha*, *pēḍha*, Hindī, Panj. *pīḍhā*, Guj. *pēḍhī*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kuṭhāri* 'axe,' Prāk. *kuḍhāra*, Bang. *kuṛhīd*, *kuṛhāḍī*, etc. (see § 200). Skt. *paṭhati* 'reads,' Prāk. *paḍhaï*, Pāli *paṭhati*, Ass. √*parh*, Bang. *paṛ*, New Ind. dialects *paḍh*, *paṛh*, E. New Ind. dialects also *parh*.

ṭh > *ṛh*, *rh*.

§ 203. The change of *ṭh* to *ṛh*, *rh*, is especially characteristic of the Eastern dialects, while the Western dialects, as noted in the preceding paragraph, tend to the change of *ṭh* to *ḍh*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭhāri* 'axe,' Bang. *kuṛhīd*, *kuṛhāḍī*, etc. (see § 200). Skt. *paṭhati* 'reads,' New Ind. dialects *paṛh*, *paḍh*, E. New Ind. dialects also *parh*, etc. (see preceding §).

ṭh > *ll*.

§ 204. The change of *ṭh* to *ll* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *aṅkōṭha*, *aṅkōl(l)a* 'name of a tree,' Prāk. *aṁkolla*, Pāli *aṁkōla*, Guj., Mar. *aṁkōl*.

ṭh > *lh*.

§ 205. The change of *ṭh* to *lh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭhāri* 'axe,' Bihārī, Hindī *kulhārī*, *kuhāḍā*, Panj. *kulhāḍā*, *kuṁlhāṛā*, *kuhāḍā*, etc. (see § 200). Skt. *kuṭhara* 'sugar-mill,' Māg. Prāk. *kuḍhalē*, Bihārī *kōlhū*.

ṭh > *h*.

§ 206. The change of *ṭh* to *h* is one of extreme rarity in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭhāri* 'axe,' Bihārī, Hindī *kuhāḍā*, *kulhārī*, Panj. *kuhāḍā*, *kulhāḍā*, *kuṁlhāṛā*, Sindhī, Guj. *kuhārō*, etc. (see § 200).

ṭh > *hr*.

§ 207. The change of *ṭh* to *hr* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭhāri* 'axe,' Uṛ. *kuhṛāri*, *kuṭāḍī*, *kuṭāṛī*, etc. (see § 200).

ḍ = *ḍ*.

§ 208. Indian *ḍ* is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pīḍana* 'pressure,' Prāk. *pīlaṇa*, *pellaṇa*, Pāli *pīlana*, Hindī *pēḍanā*, *pēlanā*, Panj. *pīḍhanā*, *pēlaṇā*, *vēlaṇā*, Sindhī *pīḍaṇu*, *pīṛaṇu*, Mar. *pīḷaṇēṁ*.

ḍ > *ṭ*.

§ 209. The change of *ḍ* to *ṭ* occurs regularly in the Pāiśācī Prākrit.

a. Indian. Skt. *vaḍiśa*, *baḍiśa* 'fish-hook,' Prāk. *baḍisa*, *balisa*, Pāiś. Prāk. *vaṭisa*, Pāli *balisa*, Hindī *balia*.

ḍ > *ḍ*.

§ 210. The decerebralization of Indian *ḍ* occurs very rarely in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. √*ḍap* 'to collect,' Uṛ. *dabibā*, Bang. *dābana*, Hindī *dăbanā*, *dabāv*, *dabēl*, Panj. *dabbaṇā*, Sindhī *dabaṇu*, Guj. *dābavuṁ*, Mar. *dabaṇēṁ*.

ḍ > *ṛ*, *r*.

§ 211. The change of *ḍ* to *ṛ*, *r*, is particularly characteristic of the East New Indian dialects. Such an *ṛ* developed from an original *ḍ* may often become *r*, and indeed in Hindī *ṛ* and *r* are interchangeable. In the West New Indian dialects, however, *ḍ* is generally retained unchanged, and it seldom becomes *ṛ*, *r* (cf. §§ 202, 203).

a. Indian. Skt. *pīḍana* 'pressure,' Sindhī *pīṛaṇu*, *pīḍaṇu*, etc. (see § 208). Skt. *uḍupa* 'boat,' Pāli *uḷumpa*, Siṁh. *oru(va)*, Maladive *oḍi*.

ḍ > *l*.

§ 212. The change of *ḍ* to *l* is one of the most frequent of all those to which Indian *ḍ* is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *dāḍima*, *dālima*, Prāk. *ḍālima*, Pāli *dālima*, Hindī *dāṛim*, Sindhī *ḍāṛhūṁ*. Skt. *krīḍati* 'plays,' Prāk. *kīlaï*, Apab. Prāk. *kīladi*, Pāli *kīḷati*. Skt. *ṣōḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *sōḷaha*, Jāina Prāk. *sōḷasa*, Pāli *sōḷasa*, *sōraha*, Kaśm. *surāh*, Uṛ. *sōhaḷa*, Bang. *ṣōla*, Bihārī *sōrah*, Hindī *sōlah*, Panj. *sōḷāṁ*, Sindhī *sōrahaṁ*, Guj. *sōl*, Mar. *sōḷā*.

ḍ > *ḷ*.

§ 213. The change of *ḍ* to *ḷ*, which is closely akin to the change discussed in the preceding paragraph, occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pīḍana* 'pressure,' Mar. *pīḷaṇēṁ*, etc. (see § 208). Skt. *uḍupa* 'boat,' Pāli *uḷumpa*, etc. (see § 211). Skt. *krōḍaka* 'lap,' Apab. Prāk. *kōlaü*, Guj. *kōḷō*. Skt. *ṣōḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *soḷaha*, Jāina Prāk. *soḷasa*, Pāli *sōḷasa*, Panj. *sōḷāṁ*, Guj. *sōḷ*, Mar. *sōḷā*, etc. (see preceding §).

ḍh > *ṛh*.

§ 214. The change of *ḍh* to *ṛh* is quite common in the New Indian dialects, especially in the Eastern languages (cf. §§ 202, 208, 211).

a. Indian. Skt. *mūḍha* 'fool,' New Ind. dialects (except Bang., Mar.) *mūṛhu*.

ḍh > *r*.

§ 215. The change of *ḍh* to *r* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *mūḍhatva* 'folly,' Prāk. *mūḍhattaṇa*, Hindī *mūrakhapan*, Panj. *mūrakhapuṇā*.

ḍh > *l*, *lh*.

§ 216. The change of *ḍh* to *l*, *lh*, is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *udvōḍha* 'bridegroom,' Bang. *dulīn*, *dulāī*, Hindī *dulhā*. Skt. *udūḍhā* 'bride,' Hindī *dulhin*, Guj. *dulāhī*.

ḍh > *ḷ*, *ḷh*.

§ 217. The change of *ḍh* to *ḷ*, *ḷh*, is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dṛḍha* 'firm,' Prāk. *daḍha*, Pāli *daḷha*, Siṁh. *daḷa*.

ṇ > *n*.

§ 218. The change of *ṇ* to *n* is not frequent in the Indian dialects, excepting in the Pāiśācī Prākrit, where it occurs regularly.

a. Indian. Skt. *guṇagaṇayukta* 'equipped with a host of virtues,' Pāiś. Prāk. *gunaganajutta*. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *b(r)amana*, lit. Prāk. *bāṁhaṇa*, Māhār. Prāk. *bambhaṇa*, Pāli *brāhmaṇa*.

ṇ > *l*, *ḷ*.

§ 219. The change of *ṇ* to *l*, *ḷ*, is excessively rare in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vāṇija* 'merchant,' Prāk. *vāṇi(j)a*, Siṁh. *veḷaṁdā*, *veṇaṁda*.

t = *t*.

§ 220. Indo-Iranian *t* remains in general unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, excepting for the Iranian spirantization of *t* to *θ* before consonants.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *tuṇḍa* 'snout,' Bihārī *ṭhōṁth*, *ṭhōr*, Hindī, Panj. *tōṁḍ*, Guj. *dund*, Mar. *tōṁḍā*, *tuṁḍ*, *tund*, *dōṁd*. Skt. *jyōti* 'light,' Pāli *jōti*, Hindī *jōt(i)*, Panj. *jōtanā*, Sindhī *jōt(i)*, Guj. *jōt*. Skt. *ṛtu* 'season,' Prāk. *udu* (Śaur. and Māg.), *uu*, *riu*, Pāli *utu*, Sindhī *ruti*, Guj. *rut(u)*, Mar. *rutū*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *rautah* 'river,' Phl. *rōt*, New Pers. *rōd*, Bal. *rōt*, Kurd. *rō*. Av. *tanu* 'body,' Phl., New Pers. *tan*, Wāxī *tan*, Šiγn. *tana*, Afγ. *tan*, Oss. *thanag*. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Gab. *tašna*, Wāxī *tax(ī)*, Šiγn. *tašna*, Sarq. *tūr(ī)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afγ. *taš̌ai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thun*, Kurd. *tī*, *tanī*. Av. *paitidīta* 'seen,' Phl. *dīδ̌*, New Pers. *dīdah*, Bal. *dīta*, Kurd. *dit*.

t > *i*.

§ 221. The vocalization of Indo-Iranian *t* is very rare. The stages in this development were probably *t* to *d*, to *δ*, to *i*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kata* 'house,' Phl. *kaδ̌ak*, New Pers. *kadah*, Zaf. *kī*, Kāš. *kiyah*, Vōn. *kē*, Kuhr. *kiyah*, Nat. *kiah*, Wāxī *kat*, Šiγn. *čīd*, Sarq. *cēd*, Minj. *kai*, Yidg. *kyē*, Yaγn. *kat*. Av., Old Pers. *brātar* 'brother,' Phl. *brāδ̌ar*, *brāδ̌*, New Pers. *birādar*, Kāš. *barāi*, *barō*, Gīl. *brār*, Wāxī *vrūt*, Šiγn. *virād*, Sarq. *vrōd*, Sangl. *vurd*, Yidg. *vrai*, Yaγn. *virāt*, Afγ. *vrōr*, Bal. *brāt*, N. Bal. *brās*, *brāθ*, Kurd. *barā*, *virād*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*. Av. *vīsaiti* 'twenty,' Phl. *vīst*, New Pers. *bīst*, Wāxī *vīst*, Sarq. *vist*, Bal. *gīst*, Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaj*.

t > *g*.

§ 222. The change of *t* to *g* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *ātarš* 'fire,' Phl. *ātaš*, New Pers. (*ā*)*taš*, *ātiš*,

Gab. *taš*, Šiγn. *yāč*, Sarq. *yuč*, N. Bal. *āc*, Kurd. *agir*, *ār*, *ēr*, Zaza *ādir*.

$t > c$.

§ 223. The change of *t* to *c* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *tiṣṭhati* 'stands,' Prāk. *ciṭṭhadi*, *ciṭṭhaï*, *ṭhāï* (cf. also *ciṭhitu* 'let him stand,' inscriptions of Dhauli), Pāli *tiṭṭhati*, *ṭhāti*, Ur. *cidā*, *thāē*, Hindī, Panj. *thē*, Sindhī *thiē*, Guj. *thāy*, Mar. *thēṇēṁ*.

[Here we may perhaps note the change of *t* to *č* in Kaśmīrī under the influence of a following *i* in the formation of the feminine, e.g., Kaśm. *mot* 'foolish,' fem. *müč* < * *moti*.]

$t > ṭ$.

§ 224. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian *t* occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects. It is especially common in Sindhī.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *tilaka* 'sectarial mark,' Ur., Bang. *ṭīka*, Hindī *ṭīkā*, Panj. *ṭikkā*, Sindhī *ṭikō*, Guj. *ṭiḷu*, *ṭiḷī*, *ṭiḷō*, Mar. *ṭikā*, *ṭiḷā*. Skt. *prati* 'toward,' Prāk. *paṭi*, *paḍi*, Pāli *paṭi*. Skt. *tāmra* 'copper,' Prāk. *tamba*, *tambira*, Ass. *tām*, Kaśm. *trām*, Ur., Bang. *tāmā*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *tāṁbā*, *tāmā*, Sindhī *ṭāmō*, Guj. *tāṁbu*, *trāṁbuṁ*, Mar. *tāṁbēṁ*, Siṁh. *taṁbara*.

$t > ṭh$.

§ 225. The change of *t* to *ṭh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *tuṇḍa* 'snout,' Bihārī *ṭhōṁth*, *ṭhōr*, etc. (see § 220). Skt. *vṛtti* 'business,' Prāk. *vaṭṭi*, Sindhī *vaṭhi*.

$t > ḍ$.

§ 226. The change of *t* to *ḍ* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects, being much more common than the change of *t* to *ṭ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *patati* 'falls,' Prāk. *paḍaï*, Pāli *patati*, Ur. *paḍikā*, Bang. *paḍaṇā*, Hindī *paṛanā*, Sindhī *pavaṇu*, Guj. *paḍavuṁ*, Mar. *paḍaṇēṁ*, *paṛaṇēṁ*, Gyp. √ *per*. Skt. *patākā* 'banner,' Prāk. *paḍāyā*, Jāina Prāk. *paḍāgā*, Pāli *patākā*. Skt. *takṣan* 'carpenter,' Sindhī *ḍakhaṇu*.

t > *th*, *θ*.

§ 227. The change of *t* to *th*, *θ*, is rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, apart from the change of *t* to *θ* according to the Iranian law of spirantization and excepting *th* developed from *t* in North Balūcī and Ossetish.

a. Indian. Skt. *tṛpyati* 'rejoices,' Prāk. *thippaï*. Skt. *āpāta* 'path,' Pāli *āpātha*.

b. Iranian. Av. *tāpayeiti* 'warms,' Phl. *tāftanŏ*, New Pers. *tābad*, Gab. *tō*, Kāš. *tōvūn*, Wāxī *θavam*, Šiγn. *tabam*, Sarq. *θavam*, Afγ. *taba*, Bal. *tap*, N. Bal. *thap*, *thaf*, Kurd. *tāv*, Dig. Oss. *thaft*, Tag. *thavin*. Av. *tərəsaiti* 'fears,' Phl. *tarsīṭanŏ*, New Pers. *tarsīdan*, Afγ. *tarhēdal*, Bal. *tursaγ*, *trusag*, N. Bal. *thursaγ*, Kurd. *tirsin*, Dig. Oss. *tharsun*, Tag. *tharsin*. Av., Old Pers. *dāta* 'law,' Phl. *dāṭ*, New Pers. *dād*, Bal. *dāta*, N. Bal. *dāθa*, *dāsā*. Av. *brātar* 'brother,' N. Bal. *brāθ*, *brās*, etc. (see § 221).

t > *d*.

§ 228. The change of the tenuis *t* to the media *d* is very common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tataḥ* 'thence,' Māhār. Prāk. *tattō*, Śaur. Prāk. *tadō*, Apab. Prāk. *daü*, Pāli *tatō*. Skt. *tāvat* 'so long,' Śaur. Prāk. *dāva*, Pāli *tāva*. Skt. *gata* 'gone,' Śaur., Māg. Prāk. *gaḍē*, Pāiś. Prāk. *gata*, Apab. Prāk. *gadu*, Pāli *gata*, Siṁh. *giya*, Gyp. *gelo*. Skt. *kṛta* 'done,' Māg. Prāk. *kadē*, *kaḍē*, Ardhamāg., Avant., Śākārī Prāk. *kala*, Pāiś. Prāk. *kata*, Apab. Prāk. *kidu*, Pāli *kata*, *kaṭa*, Old Hindī *kīya*, Bihārī *kaīl*, *kāil*, *kayal*, Sindhī *kiō*. Skt. *uta* 'or,' Prāk. *ua*, Pāli *uda*. Skt. *tē* 'of thee,' Prāk. *dē*, *tē*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Phl. *vāṭ*, New Pers. *bād*, Gab. *vad*, Sīv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Vōn., Kuhr., Nāy. *vōd*, Nat. *vad*, Māz. *vā*, Tāt *vār*, Afγ. *vō*, Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāθ*, *gvās*, Kurd. *bā*, *vāi*, Oss. *vād*. Av. *brātar* 'brother,' New Pers. *birādar*, Šiγn. *virād*, Sarq. *vrōd*, Sangl. *vurd*, Kurd. *virād*, *barā*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*, etc. (see § 221). Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Phl.

vēṭ, New Pers. *bēd*, Gab. *vīd*, Sīv. *vī*, Zaf. *vē*, Vōn. *vīd*, Kuhr. *vēt*, Afy. *vala*, Bal. *gēθ*, Kurd. *vī*, *bī*. Av. *tava* 'of thee,' New Pers. *tŭ*, Afy. *ta*, Kurd. *tu*, Dig. Oss. *du*, Tag. *di*.

t > *y*.

§ 229. The change of *t* to *y* in the Indo-Iranian dialects is only an apparent one, *y* being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an intervocalic *t* (see §§ 122, 137, 143, 164, 183).

a. Indian. Skt. *itara* 'other,' Prāk. *iara*, Māhār. Prāk. *iyara*. Skt. *kātara* 'coward,' Apab. Prāk. *kāyaru*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Guj. *kāyar*, Mar. *kāvarā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *mātar* 'mother,' Phl. *māṯ(ar)*, New Pers. *mādar*, Gab., Sīv. *māya*, Kāš. *māi*, *mōya*, Vōn. *mōa*, Māz. *mār*, *mūr*, Gīl. *māar*, *mōr*, Tāl. *mū*, Tāt *mōi*, Šiyn. *mad*, Minj. *māyā*. Av., Old Pers. *pitar* 'father,' Phl. *piṯ(ar)*, New Pers. *pidar*, Gab. *par*, Kāš. *pai*, Nāy. *pi*, *payi*, Šiyn. *pad*, Sarq. *pit*, Afy. *plār*, Bal. *pit*, N. Bal. *phis*, *phiθ*, Dig. Oss. *fida*, Tag. *fid*.

t > *r*.

§ 230. The change of *t* to *r* (in the Indian dialects through the transition-grades *d*, *ḍ*, *ṛ*) is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptati* 'seventy,' Prāk., Pāli *sattari*, Nāip. *sattari*, Kaśm. *satat*, Uṛ. *sattōri*, Bang., Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *sattar*, Sindhī *satari*, Guj. *sitēr*, Mar. *sattar*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Tāt *vār*, etc. (see § 228).

t > *l*.

§ 231. The change of *t* to *l* is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects, excepting in Afyān, where *t* regularly becomes *l*, unless the *t* is protected by a voiceless consonant.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṛta* 'done,' Ardhamāg., Avant., Śākārī Prāk. *kala*, Bihārī *kaïl*, *kāil*, *kayal* (similarly in all perf. part. in Bihārī), etc. (see § 228).

b. Iranian. Av. *pitar* 'father,' Afy. *plār*, etc. (see § 229). Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Afy. *vala*, etc. (see § 228).

t > *v*.

§ 232. The change of *t* to *v* is only apparent, *v* being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an intervocalic *t* (cf. §§ 123, 138, 144, 184). The phenomenon is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātapa* 'sunshine,' Pāli *ātāpa*, Siṁh. *av(u)va*. Skt. *mātar* 'mother,' Prāk. *māā*, Pāli *mātar*, Hindī *mā(ī)*, *māū*, Panj. *māū*, *māũ̀*, *māṁu*, *mā(ī)*, Sindhī *māū*, Eḷu *mava*, Siṁh. *mav(u)*, *mā*.

t > *s*.

§ 233. The change of *t* to *s* is excessively rare, excepting in Siṁhalese and North Balūcī.

a. Indian. Skt. *tuccha* 'empty,' Prāk. *c(h)uccha*, Pāli *tuccha*, Siṁh. *sis*, *his*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dāta* 'law,' N. Bal. *dāsā*, *dāθa*, etc. (see § 227). Av. *brātar* 'brother,' N. Bal. *brās*, *brāθ*, etc. (see § 221).

t > *h*.

§ 234. The change of *t* to *h* is very rare, excepting in Siṁhalese, where the *h* is a further development of the *s* arising from an original *t* (see preceding §).

a. Indian. Skt. *tuccha* 'empty,' Prāk. *c(h)uccha*, Pāli *tuccha*, Siṁh. *his*, *sis*.

Syncope of t.

§ 235. The loss of Indo-Iranian *t* is quite frequent both in the Middle and in the New periods of the Indo-Iranian languages. The syncope occurs more often in the Middle than in the New Indian dialects, and more commonly in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *caūttha*, *caūṭṭha*, *cottha*, Ur. *cāuḍha*, Bang. *cāuḍā*, Hindī, Panj. *cāuthā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāuṁthā*. Skt. *śata* 'hundred,' Prāk. *saa*, *saya*, Pāiś. Prāk. *sata*, Pāli *sata*, Kaśm. *hath*, Ur. *śaĕ*, Bang.

śaya, Bihārī *sāu*, Hindī, Panj. *sāi*, *sāu*, Sindhī *sāu*, Guj. *śō*, Mar. *śēṁ*, *śaṁbhar*. Skt. *pitar* 'father,' Prāk. *piā*, Pāli *pitar*, Hindī *piu*, Panj. *piū*, Sindhī *piu*, Siṁh. *piya*. Skt. *mātar* 'mother,' Prāk. *māā*, Hindī *mā(ī)*, *māū*, Panj. *māū*, *māuṁ*, *māṁu*, *mā(ī)*, Sindhī *māū*, Siṁh. *mā*, *mav(u)*, etc. (see § 232).

b. Iranian. Av. *mātar* 'mother,' Kāš. *māi*, *mōya*, Vōn. *mōa*, Māz. *mār*, *mūr*, Gīl. *māar*, *mōr*, Tāl. *mū*, Tāt *mōi*, etc. (see § 229). Skt. *jūta* 'swift,' Phl. *zūt*, New Pers. *zūd*, Māz. *zī*, Tāl., Tāt *zū*, Bal. *zūt*, *zīt*, N. Bal. *zīθ*, Kurd. *zū*. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Sīv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Māz. *vā*, Afγ. *vō*, Kurd. *bā*, *vāi*, etc. (see § 228).

Epenthesis of t.

§ 236. Epenthetic *t* is an extremely rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *ars*, Kāš. *asl*, Māz. *asr*, Afγ. *ōša*, Bal. *als*, Kurd. *(h)istir*, *asr*.

th = *th*.

§ 237. Indo-Iranian *th* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *mathana* 'churning,' Bang. *mathana*, *māṭhā*, Hindī *mathanā*, *mahanā*, *maṭhā*, Sindhī *mathaṇu*, Guj. *mathavuṁ*, *maṭhō*, Mar. *ma(ṁ)thaṇēṁ*, *māthan*. Skt. *yūtha* 'herd,' Māhār. Prāk. *jūha*, Pāli *yūtha*, Hindī *jūth*, *jathā*, Panj. *jūh*, Guj. *jathō*, Mar. *jathaṇēṁ*.

b. Iranian. Av. *paθana* 'broad,' Phl. *pahan*, New Pers. *pahn*, Kāš. *pēn*, *pahan*, *pan*, Afγ. *plan*, Bal. *patan*, Kurd. *pān*, Oss. *fathan*. Av. *gūθa* 'excrement,' Phl., New Pers. *gūh*, Kāš. *gūs*, Wāxī *gū*, *gī*, Šiγn. *γaθ*, Yaγn. *γūt(ah)*, Afγ. *γul*, N. Bal. *gīθ*, Kurd. *gū*. Av. *fraθanjayeiti* 'harnesses,' New Pers. *tanjīdan*, Bal. *tajēnag*, Dig. Oss. *ithiňjun*, Tag. *thiňjin*.

th > *ṭh*.

§ 238. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian *th* occurs rarely in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Prāk. *paḍhama*, Pāli *paṭhama*, Ass. *pōnar*, Nāip. *pahilō*, Bihārī *pahil*, *pahēl*, Hindī, Panj. *pahilā*, Sindhī *paharyōṁ*, *pihir(y)ōṁ*, *paherya*, Guj. *pēhēlō*, *pēhaluṁ*, Mar. *pahilā*, Siṁh. *paḷamu*.

th > *ḍh*.

§ 239. The change of *th* to *ḍh* is more frequent in the Indian dialects than the simple cerebralization of an original *th*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śithila* 'slack,' Prāk. *siḍhila*, Pāli *sithila*, *saṭhila*, Uṛ. *ḍhīlā*, Bang. *ḍhīlā*, Hindī *dhīlā*, Panj. *ḍhillā*, Sindhī *ḍhilō*, *ḍhirō*, Guj. *ḍhīluṁ*, Mar. *ḍhilā*. Skt. *mēṭhi* 'post,' Prāk. *mēḍhi*, Mar. *mēḍhī*, *mēḍhā*.

th > *t*.

§ 240. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *th* is excessively rare, except in Balūcī.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *kathā* 'tale,' Bang. (Burdwan) *katā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *fraθanjayeiti* 'harnesses,' New Pers. *tanjīdan*, Bal. *taiēnag*, etc. (see § 237). Av. *maēθana* 'abode,' Phl., New Pers. *mēhan*, Bal. *mētag*.

th > *dh*.

§ 241. The change of *th* to *dh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *atha* 'thus,' Śaur., Pāiś. Prāk. *adha*, Pāli *atha*. Skt. *tathā* 'so,' Śaur. Prāk. *tadhā*, Pāli *tathā*. Skt. *vyathayati* 'trembles,' Pāli *vēdhati*.

th > *y*.

§ 242. The insertion of *y* to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an original intervocalic *th* is exceedingly rare (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 164, 183, 229).

a. Indian. Skt. *ratha* 'cart,' Apab. Prāk. *rahu*, Pāli *ratha*, Siṁh. *riya*.

th > *l*.

§ 243. The change of *th* to *l* is excessively rare, excepting in Afγān.

b. Iranian. Av. *paθana* 'broad,' Afγ. *plan*, etc. (see § 237). Av. *gūθa* 'excrement,' Afγ. *γul*, etc. (see § 237).

th > *ḷ*.

§ 244. The change of *th* to *ḷ* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Siṁh. *paḷamu*, etc. (see § 238).

th > *h*.

§ 245. The change of *th* to *h* is by far the most frequent one of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian *th* is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *athavā* 'or,' Prāk. *ahavā*, Apab. *ahavaï*, inscriptions of Girnar, Dhauli, and Khālsi *ahō*, Pāli *athavā*. Skt. *ratha* 'cart,' Apab. Prāk. *rahu*, etc. (see § 242). Skt. *kathana* 'speech,' Prāk. *kahaṇa*, Pāli *kathana*, Uṛ. *kahibā*, Bang. *kahitē*, Hindī *kahanā*, Panj. *kahiṇā*, Sindhī *kahanu*, Guj. *kēhavuṁ*. Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Nāip. *pahilō*, Bihārī *pahil*, *pahēl*, Hindī, Panj. *pahilā*, Sindhī *paharyōṁ*, *pihir(y)ōṁ*, *paherya*, Guj. *pēhēlō*, *pēhaluṁ*, Mar. *pahiḷā*, etc. (see § 238). Skt. *gāthā* 'song,' Prāk. *gāhā*, Pāli *gāthā*, Old Hindī *gāhā*, Sindhī *gāï*. Skt. *pṛth(i)vī* 'earth,' Prāk. *puhavī*, *puhuvī*, *puḍhavī*, Pāli *pathavī*, *puthavī*, *puthuvī*, *paṭhavī*, Old Hindī *puhumi*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maēθana* 'abode,' Phl., New Pers. *mēhan*, etc. (see § 240). Av. *paθana* 'broad,' Phl. *pahan*, New Pers. *pahn*, Kāš. *pahan*, *pan*, *pēn*, etc. (see § 237). Av. *gūθa* 'excrement,' Phl., New Pers. *gūh*, etc. (see § 237). Av. *gaēθanąm* 'of creatures,' Phl., New Pers. *gēhān*.

d = *d*.

§ 246. Indo-Iranian *d* is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *daśa* 'ten,' Prāk. *dasa*, Śāur. Prāk. *daha*,

Pāli *dasa*, Kaśm. *daha*, Ur., Bang., Bihārī, Hindī *das*, Panj. *das*, *dah*, Sindhī *ḍah*, Guj. *das*, Mar. *dahā*. Skt. *daśati* 'bites,' Pāli *dasati*, Ur. *daṁkibā*, *daṁś*, Bang. *daṁś*, *ḍāṁś*(*ā*), Hindī *daṁs*(*ak*), *ḍāṁk*, Sindhī *ḍaṁgaṇu*, Mar. *daṁś*, *ḍāṁcaṇēṁ*, *daṁkhaṇēṁ*, *ḍasaṇēṁ*. Skt. *yadi* 'if,' Prāk. *jaï*, Jāina Prāk. *jati*, Pāli *yadi*, Hindī *jad*, *jē*, *jō*, Panj., Sindhī *jē*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daēman* 'face,' Phl. *andēmankar*, Pāz. *andīmānī*, New Pers. *dīm*, Šīr., Zaf., Kāš. *dim*, Kuhr. *dim*, *düm*, Afγ. *lēma*. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Phl., New Pers. *dandān*, Wāxī *dündük*, Šiγn., Sarq. *ðandān*, Minj. *land*, Bal. *dantān*, N. Bal. *dathān*, *dhanthān*, Kurd. *didān*, Oss. *dandag*. Av. *pāδa* 'foot,' Phl. *pāī*, New Pers. *pā*(*i*), Wāxī *pūð*, Šiγn. *pāð*, Sarq. *pað*, Sangl. *pud*, Minj. *palah*, Yidg. *pulluh*, Yaγn. *puda*, Afγ. *pal*, Bal. *pād*, N. Bal. *phāð*, *phāz*, Zaza *pai*.

d > *i*.

§ 247. The vocalization of Indo-Iranian *d* through the transition-grade *ð* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pāδa* 'foot,' Phl. *pāī*, New Pers. *pā*(*i*), Zaza *pai*, etc. (see preceding §).

d > *kh*, *x*.

§ 248. The change of *d* to *kh*, *x*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Iran. **ni* + √*dub* 'to hide,' New Pers. *nihuftan*, Kurd. *nixiftin* (very doubtful).

d > *g*.

§ 249. The change of *d* to *g* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dadrūghna* 'good for leprosy,' Pāli *gaddūhana* (the change of *d* to *g* in this word is due to dissimilation from the second *d* and assimilation to the following *gh*).

d > *jh*.

§ 250. The change of *d* to *jh* occurs with extreme rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *duhitar* 'daughter,' Prāk. *dhī*(*y*)*ā*, Śaur. Prāk.

dhūdā, *dhīdā*, Pāli *dhītā*, *dhĭtara*, Ass. *ji*, Uṛ. *jhia*, Bang. *jhī*, Hindī, Panj. *dhī(yā)*, Sindhī *dhiu*, *dhiy*, Guj. *dhī(yā)*.

d > *ḍ*.

§ 251. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian *d* is found quite frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dahati* 'burns,' Prāk. *ḍahaï*, Pāli *ḍahati*, Hindī *ḍāh*, *dāh*, Sindhī *ḍah*. Skt. **hṛdaka* 'hearty,' Māg. Prāk. *haḍakka*. Skt. *dūta* 'messenger,' Jāina Prāk. *ḍūya*, Pāli *dūta*. Skt. *daśati* 'bites,' Bang. *ḍāṁś(ā)*, *daṁś*, Hindī *ḍãṁik*, *daṁś(ak)*, Sindhī *ḍaṁganu*, Mar. *ḍāṁcaṇēṁ*, *ḍasaṇēṁ*, *daṁkhaṇēṁ*, *daṁś*, etc. (see § 246). Skt. *pravāda* 'narrative,' Pāli *pavāda*, Hindī, Sindhī *pavāṛ*, Guj. *pavāḍ*, Mar. *pavāḍā*. Skt. *dōlā* 'swing,' Prāk. *ḍōlā*, Pāli *dōlā*, Bihārī *ḍōr*, *dōr*, Hindī *ḍōl(ā)*, *ḍōlī*, *dōl(ā)*, *dōlik*, Panj., Sindhī *ḍōlī*, Guj. *ḍōī*, *ḍōḷavuṁ*, Mar. *ḍōlā*, *ḍōlī*, *ḍōḷā*, *dōlī*, Anglo-Ind. *dooly*.

d > *t*.

§ 252. The change of the voiced *d* to the voiceless *t* is regular in the Pāiśācī Prākrit, but elsewhere it is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *durgā* 'name of Parvatī,' Pāiś. Prāk. *tukkā*. Skt. *pradēśa* 'district,' Pāiś. Prāk. *patēsa*, Pāli *padēsa*. Skt. *yadi* 'if,' Jāina Prāk. *jati*, etc. (see § 246).

d > *th*.

§ 253. The change of *d* to *th* occurs very rarely in Ossetish.

b. Iranian. Av. *daδaiti* 'gives,' Phl. *dāṭanŏ*, New Pers. *dādan*, Samn. *dam*, Māz. *hādia*, Gīl. *fandi*, Tāl. *diah*, Wāxī *raδān*, Šiyn. *δiam*, Sarq. *δām*, Afγ. *lal*, Bal. *dēag*, N. Bal. *dēaγ*, Kurd. *dān*, Dig. Oss. *dadthun*, Tag. *daththin*. Av. *darəγa* 'long,' Old Pers. *darga*, Afγ. *ūrγa*, Kurd., Oss. *darg*, but Oss. *tharqus* 'hare' (lit. 'long-ear,' cf. New Pers. *darāzgōš* 'hare, donkey').

d > *dh*, *δ*.

§ 254. The aspirization of an original *d* is found both in the

Indian and in the Iranian dialects apart from the regular change in Iranian of *d* to *ð* before consonants.

a. Indian. Skt. *duhitar* 'daughter,' Prāk. *dhī(y)ā*, Śaur. Prāk. *dhūdā*, *dhīdā*, Pāli *dhītā*, *dhĭtara*, Hindī, Panj. *dhī(yā)*, Sindhī *dhiu*, *dhiy*, Guj. *dhī(yā)*, etc. (see § 250). Skt. *dṛṁhita* 'firm,' Jāina Prāk. *dhaṇiya*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum*, New Pers. *dah*, Wāxī *ðas*, *las*, Šiγn. *ðīs*, *līs*, Sarq. *ðēs*, Sangl. *das*, Yidg. *lus*, Yaγn. *das*, Afγ. *las*, Kurd. *dav*, Zaza *das*, Oss. *das(am)*. Av. *daðaiti* 'gives,' Wāxī *raðān*, Šiγn. *ðiam*, Sarq. *ðām*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *pāða* 'foot,' Wāxī *pūð*, Šiγn. *pāð*, Sarq. *pað*, N. Bal. *phād*, *phāz*, etc. (see § 246). Av. $x^{v}aēða$ 'sweat,' Phl. $x^{v}ēdē$, $x^{v}aī$, New Pers. $x^{v}āb$, Wāxī *xil*, Sarq. *xaið*, Afγ. $x^{v}alē$, Bal. *hēd*, N. Bal. *hēð*, Kurd. *xū*, *xōh*, *xoi*, Oss. *xad*.

d > *n*.

§ **255.** The change of *d* to *n* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *navadasa* 'nineteen,' Phl. *navācdahum*, New Pers. *nuwāzdahum*, Afγ. *nūnas*, *nūlas*, Dig. Oss. *naudas*, Tag. *nudas*.

d > *y*.

§ **256.** The change of *d* to *y* is only apparent, the *y* being really inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an original intervocalic *d* (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 164, 183, 229, 242). The phenomenon is much more infrequent in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khādita* 'eaten,' Prāk. *khăĭa*, Māhār. Prāk. *khaĭya*, Pāli *khayita*, Panj. *khādhā*, Guj. *khādhō*, Mar. *khāllā*. Skt. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hiaya*, *hiaa*, Pāli *hadaya*, Ass., Ur., Bihārī *hiă*, Hindī *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyāṁ*, *hiaũṁ*, Sindhī *hiṁuṁu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēṁ*, Gyp. *(y)ilō*. Skt. *ādēśa* 'order,' Pāli *ādēsa*, Old Bihārī *āyēsu*, *āēsu*, *āyasu*, *āīsu*. Skt. *pāda* 'foot,' Prāk. *păa*, Māhār. Prāk. *pāda*, Hindī *pā(ṁ)v*, Panj. *pā(ṁ)v*, *pāũṁ*, Siṁh. *paya*, *piya*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *khādati* 'eats,' New Pers. *xāyad*, Kurd.

xaïn. Phl. *xadū(k)* 'saliva,' New Pers. *xayā, xadū.* New Pers. *bādām* 'almond,' Šiγn., Sarq. *vāyām,* Kurd. *bāhīv, baïv.*

d > *r.*

§ 257. The change of *d* to *r* is not a frequent one.

a. Indian. Skt. *tādṛśa* 'such,' Prāk. *tārisa,* Pāiś. Prāk. *tātisa,* Pāli *tādisa.* Skt. *ētādṛśa* 'such,' Māhār. Prāk. *ēyārisa, ēārisa,* Pāli *ērisa, ēdisa.* Skt. *gadgada* 'stammering,' Prāk. *gaggara.* Skt. *ēkadaśa* 'eleven,' Prāk. *ēāraha,* Pāli *ēkarasa, ēkadasa,* Kaśm. *kāh,* U̯r., Bang. *ēgāra,* Bihārī *egyārah,* Hindī *igārah, gyārah,* Panj. *giārāṁ,* Sindhī *ikārahaṁ, yārahaṁ,* Guj. *agiār,* Mar. *akarā.*

d > *l.*

§ 258. The change of *d* to *l* is quite frequent in the Indian dialects, but it is very rare indeed in the Iranian dialects, excepting in the Afγān.

a. Indian. Skt. *kadamba* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *kalamba.* Skt. *pradīpta* 'kindled,' Prāk. *palīva, palitta,* Māhār. Prāk. *palīviya,* Jāina Prāk. *palitta,* Bihārī *palīt.* Skt. *dōhada, dōhala* 'longing of a pregnant woman,' Prāk. *dōhala, ḍōhaḷa, dōhaḍa,* Pāli *dōhaḷa.*

b. Iranian. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Wāxī *las, ðas,* Šiγn. *līs, ðīs,* Yidg. *lus,* Afγ. *las,* etc. (see § 254). Av. *pāδa* 'foot,' Minj. *palah,* Yidg. *pulluh,* Afγ. *pal,* etc. (see § 246). Phl. *x^{v}aṭāi* 'God,' New Pers. *xudāi* Šiγn., Sarq. *qudā,* Kurd. *xadē, xudē,* Mukrī *xola.* Av. *fraεgaδaiti* 'hastens forth,' Afγ. *εyalī.*

d > *l̤.*

§ 259. The change of *d* to *l̤* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dōhada, dōhala* 'longing of a pregnant woman,' Prāk. *ḍōhaḷa, dōhaḍa, dōhala,* Pāli *dōhaḷa.*

d > *v.*

§ 260. The change of *d* to *v* is only apparent, *v* being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an original

intervocalic *d* (cf. §§ 123, 138, 144, 184, 232). The phenomenon is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kadalī* 'plantain,' Prāk. *karalī*, *kayalī*, *kēlī*, Pāli *kadalī*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *kayalā*, *kēlā*, Sindhī *kayalā*, *kēlā*, dimin. *kēviḍō*, Guj. *kēḷ*, *kēr*, Mar. *kēl*, Siṁh. *kehel*, *kesel*.

d > *h*.

§ 261. The change of *d* to *h* is very rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kadalī* 'plantain,' Siṁh. *kehel*, *kesel* (*s* by false analogy), etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *pādika* 'quarter,' Uṛ. *pāhī*, Bang. *pāī*, Hindī *pāī*, Anglo-Ind. *pie*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *bādām* 'almond,' Kurd. *bāhīv*, *baïv*, etc. (see § 256).

Syncope of d.

§ 262. The syncope of Indo-Iranian *d* is less frequent in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects. In Iranian the loss of *d* occurs especially in the Persian dialects and in Kurdish.

a. Indian. Skt. *nadī* 'river,' Prāk. *ṇaī*, Pāli *nadī*, New Ind. dialects *nadī*, W. Bang. also *ladī*. Skt. *kadalī* 'plantain,' Prāk. *kēlī*, *kayalī*, *karalī*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *kēlā*, *kayalā*, Sindhī *kēlā*, *kayalā*, Guj. *kēḷ*, *kēr*, Mar. *kēl*, etc. (see § 260). Skt. *khādana* 'meal,' Prāk. *khāaṇa*, Pāli *khādana*, Uṛ. *khāïbā*, Bang. *khāttē*, Hindī *khānā*, Panj. *khāṇā*, Sindhī *khaïṇu*, Guj. *khāvuṁ*, Mar. *khāṇēṁ*. Skt. *śarad* 'autumn,' Prāk. *saraa*, Māhār. Prāk. *saraya*, Pāli *sarada*, Sindhī *saraū*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *nadāram* 'I have not,' Māz. *nārmah*, Gīl. *nāramah*, but *badām* 'I give.' Skt. *padika* 'traveller,' Phl. *paik*, New Pers. *paig* (cf. Māhār. Prāk. loan-word from New Pers. *pāikka*).

Epenthesis of d.

§ 263. The epenthesis of *d* is very rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcadaśa* 'fifteen,' Prāk. *paṇṇaraha*, Pāli *pañcadasa*, Kaśm. *pandāh*, Ur. *pandhar*, Bang. *pōnēra*, Bihārī *pandarah*, Hindī *paṁdrah*, Panj. *paṁdarāṁ*, Sindhī *paṁdrahaṁ*, *paṁdhrāṁ*, Guj. *paṁdar*, Mar. *paṁdharā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dāna* 'grain,' Phl. *dānak*, New Pers. *dānah*, Sarq. *dāna*, Kurd. *dandak*, *dānakī*.

dh = *dh*.

§ 264. Indo-Iranian *dh* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhavala* 'white,' Prāk., Pāli *dhavala*, Ur., Bang. *dhalā*, Hindī *dhāulā*, Sindhī *dhāuṁrō*, Guj. *dhōḷuṁ*, Mar. *dhavā*, *dhavaḷ*. Skt. *dhāvaka* 'washerman,' Ur., Bang. *dhōbā*, *dhōpā*, Hindī *dhōbō*. Skt. *kṣudhā* 'hunger,' Māhār. Prāk. *khuhā*, Pāli *khudā*, Hindī *khudhā*, Panj. *khuddhiā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *baoiδi* 'perfume,' Phl. *bōd*, *bōī*, New Pers. *bōi*, Gab. *būd*, Wāxī *vul*, Sarq. *bāo*, Bal. *bōd*, N. Bal. *bōδ*, *bōz*, Oss. *bud*.

dh > *ḍ*.

§ 265. The change of *dh* to *ḍ* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhṛṣṭa* 'bold,' Prāk. *ḍhiṭṭha*, *dhaṭṭha*, Nāip. *dhūṁtō*, Hindī, Panj. *ḍhīth*, Sindhī *ḍiṭhu*.

dh > *ḍh*.

§ 266. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian *dh* is not found very frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhṛṣṭa* 'bold,' Prāk. *ḍhiṭṭha*, *dhaṭṭha*, Hindī, Panj. *ḍhīth*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. √*dhakk* 'destroy,' Prāk. *ḍhakkaï*, Ur. *ḍhakanā*, *dhāṁkanā*, Bang. *ḍhākitē*, Hindī *ḍhakkā*, Panj. *dhakkā*, Sindhī *ḍhakaṇu*, *dhikō*, Guj. *ḍhāṁkavuṁ*, Mar. *dhāṁkaṇēṁ*.

dh > *t*.

§ 267. The change of *dh* to *t* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhārayati* 'holds,' Prāk. *dharaï*, Pāli *dhārēti*, Siṁh. *terenavā*, *daraṇava*, Gyp. √*ther*.

dh > *d*.

§ 268. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *dh* is the most frequent change to which it is subject both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dharma* 'virtue,' Prāk., Pāli *dhamma*, Kaśm. *daram*, Eḷu *daham*, Siṁh. *dam* Skt. *dhattūra* 'thorn-apple,' Kaśm. *dattur*, Vṛ. *dhuturā*, *dhudurā*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *dhatūrā*, Sindhī *dhāturō*, Guj. *dhaturō*, Mar. *dhatūrā*. Skt. *kṣudhā* 'hunger,' Pāli *khudā*, etc. (see § 264). Skt. *madhu* 'mead,' Māhār. Prāk. *mahu*, Pāli *madhu*, Hindī *mad*, *madhu*, Sindhī *madu*, Mar. *madhu*, Gyp. *mōl*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dhamati* 'blows,' Phl., New Pers. *dam*, Dig. Oss. *dumun*, Tag. *dimin*. Av. *baoiδi* 'perfume,' Phl. *bōd*, *bōi*, Gab. *būd*, Bal. *bōd*, Oss. *bud*, etc. (see § 264).

dh > *bh*.

§ 269. The change of *dh* to *bh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *saṁnirundhati* 'impedes,' Pāli *sanniruṁbhati*, *sanniruṁhati*.

dh > *y*.

§ 270. The change of *dh* to *y* is only apparent, *y* being really introduced to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an intervocalic *dh* (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 183, 229, 242, 256). The phenomenon is not common.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhura* 'sweet,' Māhār. Prāk. *mahura*, Pāli *madhura*, Siṁh. *miyuru*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vadhū* 'bride,' New Pers. *bayō*, Judaeo-Pers. *bayōg*, Kurd. *būk*. Av. *maδu* 'wine,' Phl., New Pers. *mai*, Oss. *mud*.

dh > *l*.

§ 271. The change of *dh* to *l* is quite rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *gṛhagōdhikā* 'lizard,' Pāli *gharagōlikā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *baoiδi* 'perfume,' Wāxī *vul*, etc. (see § 264).

dh > *v*.

§ 272. The change of *dh* to *v* is only apparent, *v* being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of *dh* (cf. §§ 123, 138, 144, 184, 232, 260).

a. Indian. Skt. *tulādhāra* 'balance-holding,' Siṁh. *tulavaru*.

dh > *h*.

§ 273. The change of *dh* to *h* is quite frequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *āuṣadhi* 'drug,' Prāk. *ōsaha*, *ōsaḍha*, Pāli *ōsadhi*. Skt. *sādhu* 'good,' Prāk. *sāhu*, Pāli *sādhu*, Bihārī *sāh*, Sindhī *sāū*. Skt. *badhira* 'deaf,' Prāk. *bahira*, Pāli *badhira*, Uṛ. *bahirā*, Bang. *bahērā*, Hindī *bahirā*, Sindhī *bōṛō*, *bōḍō*, Guj. *bēhērō*, Mar. *bahirā*, Siṁh. *bihiri*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pali *gōdhūma*, Ass. *ghēṁhu*, Nāip. *gāhuṁ*, Uṛ. *gahama*, *gama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhuṁ*, Hindī *gō(ṁ)huṁ*, *gēhuṁ*, *ghēuṁ*, Panj. *ghēuṁ*, Sindhī *ḡēhuṁ*, Guj. *ghaūṁ*, Gyp. *giv*. Skt. *vadhū* 'bride,' Prāk. *vahū*, Pāli *vadhū*, Uṛ. *bahu*, Bang. *baū*, Hindī *ba(h)ū*, Panj. *bōhū*, Sindhī *vahū*, *bōhu*, Guj. *vahu*, Mar. *vahū*.

Syncope of dh.

§ 274. The loss of *dh* occurs only rarely in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Uṛ. *gama*, *gahama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Hindī *ghēuṁ*, *gēhuṁ*, *gō(ṁ)huṁ*, Panj. *ghēuṁ*, Guj. *ghaūṁ*, Gyp. *giv*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av. *viδu*, *viδava* 'widow,' Phl. *vēvak*, New Pers. *bēvah*, Kāš. *vīa*, *vīga*, *bīvă*, Kurd. *bī*, Tag. Oss. *idaǰ*. Av. *haca* 'from' + *aδairi* 'beneath,' Phl. *aēr*, Pāz. *ašēr*, New Pers. *zēr*, Sīv. *šī*, Zaf. *šēr*, other Central dialects *jīr*, Samn. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judaeo-Pers. *zēr*, Kurd. *zīr*, Tag. Oss. *dala*.

n = *n*.

§ 275. Indo-Iranian *n* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, although in Middle Indian an original *n* is usually cerebralized to *ṇ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāman* 'name,' Prāk., Pāli *nāman*, New Ind. dialects *nām(v)*, Gyp. *anav*, *nav*. Skt. *nāmayati* 'bows,' Prāk. *ṇāmēi*, Pāli *nāmēti*, Uṛ. *nuṁāī*, Bang. *nām*, *nuya*, Hindī *nā(v)*, Panj. *nivā*, Sindhī *naṁvā*. Skt. *snāna* 'bath,' Apab. Prāk. *ṇhāṇu*, Pāli *sināna*, *nāhāna*, Hindī *nhānā*, Panj. *nhāuṇā*, Guj. *nahāṇ*, Mar. *nahāṇ*, *nāhaṇēṁ*.

b. Iranian. Av. *nąman* 'name,' Old Pers. *nāman*, Phl., New Pers. *nām*, Wāxī *nung*, Afγ. *nūm*, Bal. *nām*, Dig. Oss. *non*, Tag. *nom*. Av. *nairya* 'virile,' Phl. *nērōk*, Pāz., New Pers. *nīrō*, Šiγn. *nīr*, Sarq. *niar*, Sangl. *narak*, Yidg. *nar*. Av. *nava* 'new,' Phl. *navak*, *nōk*, Pāz. *nō*, New Pers. *nō*, *nav*, Šiγn. *nau*, Sarq. *nūj*, Afγ. *nau*, *navai*, Bal. *nōk*, N. Bal. *nōx*, Kurd. *nu*, Dig. Oss. *navag*, Tag. *nvog*. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *zan*, Gab. *jan*, *yan(ūk)*, Sīv. *ǰin*, Zaf. *ǰan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *jan*, *jin*, *yan*, *ǰan*, Nāy. *yanah*, Samn. *ǰanikō*, Šiγn. *γin*, Sarq. *γīn*, *ǰin*, Minj. *ǰinga*, Afγ. *jinaī*, *jūnaī*, *jal*, Bal. *jan*, Kurd. *ǰin*, Zaza *jan*.

$n > \hat{n}$.

§ 276. The change of *n* to *n̂* is confined to the Sindhī, which alone preserves *ɔ*, *n̂*, pronounced *ŋg* and *nj* respectively (see § 154).

a. Indian. Skt. *stana* 'female breast,' Prāk., Pāli *thana*, Uṛ., Bang. *thana*, Hindī *thān*, Panj. *thaṇ*, Sindhī *thaṅu*, *thaṇu*, Guj. *thān*, Mar. *thanā*. Skt. *mānanā* 'respect,' Hindī *mannā*, Sindhī *maṅaṇu*.

$n > ṇ$.

§ 277. The cerebralization of *n* is very frequent in the Middle Indian dialects. Vararuci, ii. 42, goes so far as to postulate a change of *n* to *ṇ* throughout the Prākrits (*nō ṇaḥ sarvatra*, cf. Pischel on Hēmacandra, i. 229, *Gramm. der Prākrit-Sprachen*, § 224). In the New Indian dialects the change is less common.

a. Indian. Skt. *nadī* 'river,' Prāk. *ṇaī*, Pāli *nadī*, New Ind. dialects *nadī*, W. Bang. also *ladī*. Skt. *vacana* 'speech,' Prāk. *vacaṇa*, Māhār. Prāk. *vayaṇa*, Pāli *vacana*. Skt. *khanēt* 'should

dig,' Gāthā *khaṇēt*. Skt. *dhēnu* 'cow,' Prāk. *dhēṇu*, Pāli *dhēnu*, Sindhī *dhēṇu*.

n > *b*.

§ 278. The change of *n* to *b* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nagna* 'naked,' Av. *mayna*, Oss. *baynag*.

n > *m*.

§ 279. The change of *n* to *m* occurs occasionally finally in Iranian.

b. Iranian. Av. *paitidāna* 'penom,' Phl. *padām*, Pāz. *panām*, *panōm*, New Pers. *panām*. Phl. *bān* 'roof,' New Pers. *bām*, Sīv. *bān*, Kāš. *bū(n)*, *bōn*, Tāt *sarbu*, Afγ. *bām*, Kurd. *bān*. Av. *āfrīna* 'blessing,' Phl. *āfrīn* 'praise,' *nafrīn* 'curse,' New Pers. *nafrīn*, Kurd. *nafrīm*.

n > *r*.

§ 280. The change of *n* to *r* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāirañjana* nom. prop., Pāli *nērañjara*. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Prāk. *ṭhāṇa*, *thāna*, Apab. Prāk. *ṭhāṇu*, *ṭhāü*, Pāli *ṭhāna*, Nāip. *thaɔi*, Ur. *thāṇā*, *ṭhāṇā*, Bang. *thān*, *thaṇā*, Bihārī *ṭhāü(ṁ)*, *thā(ṁ)ɔ*, Hindī *thānā*, *ṭhaünā*, Panj. *ṭhāṇā*, *thānā*, Sindhī *thāṇu*, *ṭhāṇu*, Guj. *thāṇ*, *ṭhāṇ*, Mar. *thār*, *ṭhān*, Siṁh. *tāna*, *ṭāna*.

n > *l*.

§ 281. The change of *n* to *l* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects, and in Siṁhalese the change is regular. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, the development is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēnas* 'fault,' Pāli *ēla*, *ēḷa*. Skt. *nimba* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *liṁba*, Pāli *nimba*, Bihārī *nīm*, Hindī *līm*, *nīm*, Sindhī *limu*, Guj. *limbaḍō*, Mar. *limb*. Skt. *navanīta* 'butter,' Pāli *navanīta*, *nōnīta*, Bang. *nanī*, Hindī *nōnī*, Mar. *lōṇī*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *nīla* 'blue,' Kaśm. *nyul*, Bang., Bihārī *līl*, *nīl*, Guj. *līl*. Skt. *vana* 'forest,' Prāk. *vaṇa*, Pāli *vana*, Siṁh. *val*, Maldive *vaḷi*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *nava* 'new,' Siṁh. *lă*, Gyp. *nevō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Afγ. *jal*, *jinaī*, *jūnaī*, etc.

(see § 275). Skt. *navaka* 'youth,' New Pers. *navaḫ*, Kurd. *lau(k)*, *lāv*, *lō*.

n > *l*.

§ 282. The change of *n* to *l* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēnas* 'fault,' Pāli *ēḷa*, *ēla*. Skt. *vana* 'forest,' Maldive *vaḷi*, etc. (see preceding §).

n > *v*.

§ 283. The change of *n* to *v* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēna* 'nose,' Phl. *vēnīk*, *bēnīk*, Pāz. *vīnī*, New Pers. *bīnī*, Samn. *vīnī*, Māz. *vēnī*, Tāl. *vīnī*, E. Kurd. *baval*, Kurd. *bivil*, *bēn*.

Syncope of n.

§ 284. The loss of Indo-Iranian *n* is rather uncommon. In the Iranian dialects the apocope of *n* is found occasionally after ong vowels.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Apab. Prāk. *ṭhāü*, *ṭhāṇu*, Bihārī *ṭhāū(ṁ)*, *ṭhā(ṁ)v*, etc. (see § 280).

b. Iranian. Phl. *vārān* 'rain,' New Pers. *bārān*, Zaf. *vurō*, Kāš. *vōrūn*, Nāy. *vārūn*, Kurd. *bārin*, Dig. Oss. *vārun*, Tag. *varin*. Phl., Pāz., New Pers. *nān* 'bread,' Zaf. *nū*, Nāy. *nōu*, Central dialects *nūn*, Bal. *nagan*, N. Bal. *naɣan*. New Pers. *tābistān* 'summer,' Sīv. *tavisā*. New Pers. *sā* 'manner,' *sān*. Phl., New Pers. *pasīn* 'hinder,' Kurd. *pašī*.

Prothesis of n.

§ 285. The prothesis of *n* is an excessively rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Phl. *āīnīnak* 'mirror,' New Pers. *āīnah*, Bal. *ādēnk*, *(h)ādēk*, N. Bal. *ādēn*, *āsīna*, Kurd. *nainak*, Dig. Oss. *aidana*.

Epenthesis of n.

§ 286. The epenthesis of *n* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hazaŋra* 'thousand,' Phl., New Pers. *hazār*, Afɣ. *zar*, Zaza *hanzār*.

p = *p*.

§ 287. Indo-Iranian *p* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *paścāt* 'afterward,' Prāk., Pāli *pacchā*, Ass. *picē*, *pācē*, Kaśm. *pat(h)*, Ur. *pachē*, *pāchu*, Bang. *pāchā*, Hindī *pachē*, *pīchē*, *pāchū*, *pīchū*, Panj. *pichē*, *pichōṁ*, Sindhī *pōē*, *puāṁ*, Guj. *pachē*, *pachī*, *pāchō*, Siṁh. *pas(u)*. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Apab. Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Pāli *pakka*, Ass. *pakā*, Nāip. *pāk*, Kaśm. *pōp*, Ur. *pakkā*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindī *pākal*, Hindī, Panj. *pakkā*, Sindhī *pakō*, Guj. √*pak*, *pik*, Mar. *pīk*, *pikā*. Skt. √*chap* 'go' (?), Ur. *ṭipibā*, Bang. *chāpitē*, *cāpitē*, *ṭēpitē*, Hindī *chāpanā*, *cāṁpanā*, *tōpanā*, *ṭōpanā*, *ṭīpanā*, *thapaṇā*, Sindhī *chāpaṇu*, *cāpaṇu*, *ṭapuḍaṇu*, *ṭhapaṇu*, Mar. *chāpaṇēṁ*, *cāpaṭaṇēṁ*, *ṭāp*, *ṭhapakā*, Anglo-Ind. (*first*) *chop*, *shampoo*. Skt., Pāli *japana* 'muttering,' Hindī *ja(ṁ)panā*, Mar. *jāpaṇēṁ*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pasca* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā(va)*, Phl., New Pers. *pas*, Kāš. *pac*, *paš*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pāšī*, *pāšva*, Dig. Oss. *fastāga*, Tag. *fastag*. Av. *pāδa* 'foot,' Phl. *pāī*, New Pers. *pā(i)*, Wāxī *pūδ*, Šiγn. *pāδ*, Sarq. *paδ*, Sangl. *pud*, Minj. *palah*, Yidg. *pulluh*, Yaγn. *puda*, Afγ. *pal*, Bal. *pād*, N. Bal. *phāδ*, *phāz*, Zaza *pai*. Av. *āp* 'water,' Phl. *āp*, Pāz. *āw*, New Pers. *āb*, *āv*, Gab. *ō*, Sīv. *av*, *au*, Yazdī *vō*, Kāš. *ōv*, Nāy. *āō*, Nat. *au*, Samn. *ō*, Māz. *ō(v)*, Gīl., Tāl., Tāt *ōv*, Wāxī *yupk*, *yapak*, Yidg. *yovγ*, Yaγn. *āp*, Afγ. *ōba*, Bal. *āp*, N. Bal. *āf*, Kurd. *āv*.

p > *k*.

§ 288. The change of *p* to *k* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pipīlika* 'ant,' Pāli *kipillika*, *pipīlika* (by dissimilation).

p > *ph*, *f*.

§ 289. In the Middle and New Indian dialects the aspirization of an original *p* is usually caused by a following aspirate or sibilant. In the Iranian dialects *p* becomes *f* (apart from the regular laws of aspiration in Iranian) in Ossetish, and between vowels, or

finally after vowels in North Balūcī, although this dialect shows *ph* initially before vowels and *r*.

a. Indian. Skt. *parigha* 'bar,' Prāk. *phaliha*. Skt. *paruṣa* 'rough,' Pāli *pharusa*. Skt. *pāribhadra* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *phālihadda*, Pāli *phālibhadda*. Skt. *puṣpa* 'flower,' Prāk., Pāli *puppha*, Bihārī *phūp(h)*, Old Hindī *puhupa*, Hindī *phūp*, Guj., Mar. *phūl*. Skt. *pāśa* 'noose,' Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *pāsa*, Nāip. *phāṁsō*, *pāsō*, Uṛ. *phās*, Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *phāṁs*, Panj. *phāhā*, Sindhī *phāsī*, *phāhī*, Guj., Mar. *phāṁs*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Phl. *pasēd*, New Pers. *pasad*, Gab. *paxa*, Kāš. *patan*, Māz. *paxta*, Wāxī *pčcam*, Afγ. *paxavul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phašaγ*, Kurd. *pātin*, Bayazid *pāthin*, Dig. Oss. *fičun*, Tag. *fičin*. Av. *parəna* 'feather,' Phl., New Pers. *parr*, Afγ. *par*, Bal. *pan*, Kurd. *far*, *pal*, *par*, Zaza *firin* 'to fly.' Skt. *tapas* 'heat,' New Pers. *tāb*, Gab. *tō*, Kāš. *tav*, Afγ. *taba*, Bal. *tap*, N. Bal. *thaph*, *thaf*, *thap*, Kurd. *tā(v)*, Tag. Oss. *thaf*. Av., Old Pers. *xšapan* 'night,' Phl. *šap*, *šavāk*, New Pers. *šab*, Samn. *šō*, Māz. *šū*, Tāl. *šav*, Tāt *šū*, Šiγn. *šab*, Sarq. *xab*, Minj. *xšava*, Afγ. *špa*, Bal. *šap*, N. Bal. *šaf*, Kurd. *šav*, Oss. *axšav*.

$p > b$.

§ 290. The change of the tenuis *p* to the media *b* is more common in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects, where *p* normally becomes *v*.

a. Indian. Skt. *lipi* 'tablet,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Delhi) *libi*, Pāli *lipi*. Skt. *nāpita* 'barber,' Prāk. *ṇhāvia*, *nāvia*, Śākara Prāk. *nābida*. Skt. *kapāṭa* 'door,' Prāk. *apāṭa*, Uṛ., Bang. *kabāḍa*, Hindī, Panj., Mar. *kavāḍ*. Skt. *api* 'also,' Prāk. *pi*, *avi*, Pāli (*a*)*pi*, Sindhī *bi*. Skt. *sthāpayati* 'establishes,' Prāk. *ṭhāvēi*, Pāli *ṭhāpēti*, Uṛ. *thuibā*, Bang. *thāitē*, Hindī, Panj. *thāpanā*, Guj. *thāpavuṁ*, Mar. *thāpaṇēṁ*, Siṁh. *tabanavā*. Skt. *parasvant* 'rhinoceros,' Pāli *balasata*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *kapōta* 'dove,' Phl. *kapōṭ(ar)*, New Pers. *kabūtar*, Wāxī *kibit*, Sarq. *cabaud*, Yidg. *kuvā*, Afγ. *kautar*,

kavntar, Bal. *kapōt*, *kǫtar*, Kurd. *kavōk*. Av. *xšapan* 'night,' New Pers., Šiyn. *šab*, Sarq. *xab*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *ăp* 'water,' New Pers. *āb*, *āv*, Afγ. *ōba*, etc. (see § 287). Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Phl. *rōpās*, *rōbāš*, New Pers. *rōbāh*, Gab. *rūvās*, Sarq. *rapč*, Bal. *rophask*, Kurd. *rūvi*, Dig. Oss. *robas*, Tag. *rūbas*.

p > *m*.

§ 291. The change of *p* to *m* is very rare outside the Middle Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nīpa* 'Kadamba tree,' Prāk. *nīma*, *nīva*, Pāli *nīpa*. Skt. *āpīḍa* 'chaplet,' Prāk. *āmēla*, *āvēḍa*. Skt. *punaḥ* 'again,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Delhi), *mina*, (inscriptions of Shāhbazgarhi) *pana*, lit. Prāk. *puna*, Pāli *pana*, Bihārī *phin*, *p(h)un*. Skt. *svapant* 'sleeping,' Pāli *sumanta*, but *supati* 'sleeps.' Skt., Pāli *kacchapa* 'tortoise,' Bang. *kachim*, Hindī, Panj. *kachūā*, Sindhī *kaṁchū*. Skt. *sapādika* 'one and one fourth,' Prāk. *savāïa*, Uṛ. *saüyāï*, Bang. *saüyā*, Hindī *savā*, W. Hindī *samā*, Panj. *savā(ïā)*, Sindhī *savāī*, Guj *savā*, Mar. *savvā*.

p > *y*.

§ 292. The change of *p* to *y*, which is, as in all similar phenomena, only apparent (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 183, 229, 242, 256, 270), is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *pipāsā* 'thirst,' Hindī *piyās*, *piās*, *pyās*.

p > *v*.

§ 293. The change of *p* to *v* is the most frequent one of all those to which Indo-Iranian *p* is subject, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. It is closely akin to the changes of *p* to *b* and of *b* to *v* noted in §§ 290, 308.

a. Indian. Skt. *kapāla* 'skull,' Prāk., Pāli *kavāla*. Skt. *pāpa* 'evil,' Prāk. *pāva*, Pāli *pāpa*, Kaśm. *pāph*, Siṁh. *pavu*, other New Ind. dialects *pāp*. Skt. *upadhyāya* 'teacher,' Prāk. *uvaǫjjhāa*,

ujjhāa, Pāli *upajjhāya*, Bihārī *pādha*, Sindhī *vājhō*. Skt. *kapāṭa* 'door,' Hindī, Panj., Mar. *kavāḍ*, etc. (see § 290).

b. Iranian. Av. *upairi* 'above,' Old Pers. *upariy*, Phl. *apar*, Pāz. *awar*, New Pers. *(a)bar*, Wāxī, Sarq. *var*, Afγ. *prē*, Bal. *par*, N. Bal. *phar*, *gvar*, Kurd. *bar*, Oss. *vala*. Phl. *lap* 'lip,' Pāz. *law*, New Pers. *lab*, Gab. *lāv*, Bahb. *lau*, Zāf. *lö*, Kāš. *lav*, Vōn. *löi*, Nay. *liyū*, Wāxī, Sangl. *lav*, Bal. *lap*, Kurd. *liv*. Av. *ǎp* 'water,' New Pers. *āv*, *āb*, Sīv. *av*, *au*, Kāš. *ōv*, Māz. *ōv*, *ō*, Gīl., Tāl., Tāt *ōv*, Yidg. *yovγ*, Kurd. *āv*, etc. (see § 287). Av. *xšapan* 'night,' Phl. *šavāk*, *šap*, Tāl. *šav*. Minj *xšava*, Kurd. *šav*, Oss. *axšav*, etc. (see § 289). Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Gab. *rūvās*, Kurd. *rūvi*, etc. (see § 290). Skt. *kapiñjala* 'partridge,' Bal. *kapīnjar*, N. Bal. *khawinjar*.

Syncope of p.

§ 294. The loss of Indo-Iranian *p* through the transition-grades *b* and *v* (cf. §§ 290, 293, 309, 376) is not uncommon in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *āryaputra* 'father-in-law's son,' Prāk. *ajjaütta*. Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Nāip. *kuvā*, Kaśm. *khuh*, Uṛ., Bang. *kūā*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *kū(ṁ)āṁ*, Sindhī *khūhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuvō*. Skt. *kapittha* 'wood-apple tree,' Uṛ. *kaïtta*, Hindī *kaṭhabel* (with metathesis).

b. Iranian. Av. *ǎp* 'water,' Gab. *ō*, Nay. *āō*, Samn. *ō*, Māz. *ō*, *ōv*, etc. (see § 287). Skt. *tapas* 'heat,' Gab. *tō*, Kurd. *tā*, *tāv*, etc. (see § 289).

ph = *ph*.

§ 295. Indo-Iranian *ph* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *phaṇa* 'snake's hood,' Uṛ., Bang., Hindī *phaṇā*, Sindhī *phaṇi*, Guj. *phaṇō*, Mar. *phaṇā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kafa* 'foam,' Phl., New Pers. *kaf*, Wāxī *xuf*, Sarq. *xaf*, Bal. *kap*, Kurd. *kaf*, Dig. Oss. *xafa*, Tag. *xaf*. Av. *safa* 'hoof,' Afγ. *sva*, Oss. *safthag*.

ph > *p*.

§ 296. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *ph* is excessively rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects, excepting in Balūcī, where intervocalic *ph* regularly becomes *p*, which North Balūcī has developed to *f*.

a. Indian. Skt. *phaḍiṅga* 'flying insect,' Pāli *paṭaṅga*. Skt. *phalgu* 'herb,' Pāli **phalgava* > *paggava*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' Old Pers. *kaufa*, Phl. *kōf(ak)*, New Pers. *kūh*, Kuhr. *kūfūn*, Tāt *kuf*, Afγ. *kvab*, Bal. *kōpag*, N. Bal. *kōfaγ*, Kurd. *kūh*. Av. *kafa* 'foam,' Bal. *kap*, etc. (see preceding §).

ph > *b*.

§ 297. The change of *ph* to *b* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' Afγ. *kvab*, etc. (see preceding §).

ph > *bh*.

§ 298. The change of *ph* to *bh* is found not infrequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rēpha* 'burring sound,' Prāk. *rēbha*. Skt. *saphala* 'fruitful,' Prāk. *sabhala*, Apab. Prāk. *sahalu*, Pāli *saphala*. Skt. *śaphari* 'carp,' Prāk. *sabhari*, *sahari*, Pāli *saphari*, Hindī *saharī*, Panj. *saūḷ*.

ph > *v*.

§ 299. The change of *ph* to *v* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' Kurd. *kūh*, but *kōvī* 'wild,' etc. (see § 296). Av. *safa* 'hoof,' Afγ. *swa*, etc. (see § 295).

ph > *h*.

§ 300. The change of *ph* to *h* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śaphari* 'carp,' Prāk. *sahari*, *sabhari*, Hindī *saharī*, etc. (see § 298).

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' New Pers. *kōh*, etc. (see § 296).

Syncope of ph.

§ 301. The loss of Indo-Iranian *ph* is a very rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *śaphari* 'carp,' Panj. *saūḷ*, etc. (see § 298).

Epenthesis of ph, f.

§ 302. The epenthesis of *ph, f*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taša* 'axe,' New Pers. *taš*, Kurd. *tafsciu.*

b = b.

§ 303. Indo-Iranian *b* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *badhnati* 'binds,' Prāk. *baṁdhaï*, Pāli *baṁdhati*, Hindī *bāṁdh*, Panj. *bannh*, Sindhī *bāṁdh*. Skt. *budhyatē* 'knows,' Prāk. *bujjhaï*, Pāli *bujjhati*, Kaśm. *saṁjhāadi, bujhibā*, Uṛ., Bang. *būjhana*, Hindī *būjhanā*, Panj. *bujjhaṇā*, Sindhī *bujhaṇu*, Guj. *bujavuṁ*, Mar. *bujh*. Skt. *śabara* 'barbarian,' Prāk. *sabara, samara.*

b. Iranian. Av. *baxšaiti* 'divides,' Phl. *baxtanŏ*, Pāz., New Pers. *baxšīdan*, Afγ. *bašal, baxal*, Bal. *baḳšag*, N. Bal. *baškaγ*, Kurd. *baxšin*. Av. *bərəz* 'high,' Phl., New Pers. *burz*, Kurd. *barz*, Oss. *barzond.*

b > p.

§ 304. The change of the *b* to *p* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bāḍha* 'firm,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Khālsi and Dhauli) *pāḍha*, Māhār. Prāk. *bāḍha*. Skt. *balvaja* 'reed,' Pāli *pabbaja.*

b > bh.

§ 305. The aspirization of Indo-Iranian *b* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bṛhaspati* nom. prop., Prāk. *bhaaphadi.*

b > m.

§ 306. The change of *b* to *m* is extremely rare (cf. Skt. *brūhi* 'speak!' Av. *mrūiδi*).

a. Indian. Skt. *śabara* 'barbarian,' Prāk. *samara, sabara.* Skt. *kabandha* 'belly, cloud,' Prāk. *kamaṁdha, kayaṁdha.*

b > *y*.

§ 307. The change of *b* to *y*, which is only an apparent one (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 183, 229, 242, 256, 270, 292), is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kabandha* 'belly, cloud,' Prāk. *kayaṁdha*, *kamaṁdha*.

b > *v*.

§ 308. The change of *b* to *v* is very common, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. The Prākrits have so far confused *b* and *v* that Vararuci writes *v* for *b* throughout. The New Indian dialects use *v* almost to the exclusion of *b* in the East, Hindī reverses this, writing every *v* as *b*, Panjābī uses *b* and *v* indifferently, while the Western dialects preserve the original distinction between the two more carefully.

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'vapor,' Prāk. *bāha* 'tear,' *bappha* 'smoke,' Śaur. Prāk. *bappa*, Pāli *bappa*, Kaśm. *bāha*, Ur., Bang. *bāpha*, *bhāpha*, E. Hindī, Hindī *bā(ṁ)ph*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhī *bāph*, Guj. *bā(ṁ)ph*, Mar. *vāph*. Skt. *bandhyā* 'barren woman,' Prāk., Pāli *vaṁjjhā*, Bang. *bāṁjhā*, Sindhī *vāṁjh*, Marvarī *bāṁjhaḍī*, Guj. *vāṁjhaṁ*, Mar. *vāṁjh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *būsa* 'goat,' Phl. *būz*, New Pers. *buz*, Wāxī *buc*, *būc*, Šiγn., Sarq. *vaz*, Sangl. *vuz*, Minj. *voza*, Yidg. *viza*, Afγ. *vuz*, Kurd. *bizin*. Old Pers. *naiba* 'beautiful,' Phl. *nēvak*, *nēv*, New Pers. *nēv*, *nēk*.

Syncope of b.

§ 309. The syncope of an intervocalic *b* is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pibati* 'drinks,' Prāk. *piaï*, Pāli *pibati*, Siṁh. *bonavā*, caus. *povanavā*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *naiba* 'beautiful,' Phl. *nēvak*, *nēv*, New Pers. *nēk*, *nēγ*.

Epenthesis of b.

§ 310. The epenthesis of *b* is quite rare. It seems to occur mostly in the vicinity of *m*.

b. Iranian. Av. *staxra* 'stiff,' Phl. *stahmbaktar*, *stahmaktar*,

New Pers. *sitam*. Av. *duma* 'tail,' Phl., New Pers. *dum*, *dumb*, Sarq. *δūm*, *δūmbā*, Afγ. *lam*, Kurd. *dūv*, *dunk*, Dig. Oss. *dumag*, Tag. *dimag*. Skt. *rōman* 'hair of the body,' New Pers. *rŭm*, *rumah*, *rumbah*.

bh = *bh*.

§ 311. In the Indian dialects Indo-Iranian *bh* is in general retained unchanged. The Iranian dialects, on the other hand, change *bh* to *b*, which, however, in the younger Avesta became *w*, excepting when *b* was preceded by a written nasal or sibilant, or when *b* was initial.

a. Indian. Skt. *pratibhāti* 'glory,' Prāk. *paḍibhāti*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *bhūmi* 'earth,' Uṛ. *bhūma*, *bhūriṁ*, Bang. *bhūm*, Hindī *bhūṁ*, *bhūiṁ*, *bhūriṁ*, Panj. *bhūṁ*, *bhūm*, *bhūriṁ*, *bhōriṁ*, Sindhī *bhū(iṁ)*, Guj. *bhū(y)*, *bhōy*, Mar. *bhūy*, Gyp. *phuv*.

bh > *kh*, *x*.

§ 312. The change of *bh* to *kh*, *x*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *ābhā* 'glory' + *tāpa* 'heat,' New Pers. *āftāb* 'sun,' Šiγn., Sarq. *aftaw*, Kurd. *ātaf*, So *axtāv*, *ataf*, *adav*, Boxtanī *tāv*.

bh > *ph*, *f*.

§ 313. The change of *bh* to *ph*, *f*, is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *aiwirocayeiti* 'kindles,' Phl. *afrōxtanδ*, New Pers. *afrōxtan*. Skt. *abhi* + *śāṇa* 'whetstone,' Phl. *afsān*, New Pers. *afsān*, *avsān*, *fasān*, Wāxī, Sarq. *pasān*. Skt. *ūrṇavābhi* 'spinning-wheel,' New Pers. *bāftan*, Gab. *vaftmūn*, Wāxī *vufam*, Sarq. *vāfam*, Afγ. *ōdal*, *ūdal*, Bal. *gvapag*, N. Bal. *gvafaγ*, Oss. *vafin*.

bh > *b*.

§ 314. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *bh* is by no means common.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaginī* 'sister,' Prāk. *bhaïṇī*, *bahiṇī*, Pāli *bhaginī*, Kaśm. *byaṅ*, Uṛ. *bhāuṇī*, *bhaüṇī*, Bang. *baïn*, Hindī

bahin, Panj. *bhāiṇ*, *bāinh*, Sindhī *bhēṇu*, Guj. *bēhēn*, Mar. *bahīṇ*, Gyp. *phen*.

bh > *m*.

§ 315. The change of *bh* to *m* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dundubhi* 'drum,' Pāli *dindima*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *bharga* 'bhang, hemp,' Av. *baŋha*, Phl., New Pers. *mang*, *bang*, Skt. *nābhi* 'navel,' Av. *nāfah*, Phl. *nāf(ak)*, Afγ. *nū*, *nūm*, Bal. *nāpag*, *nāfag*, N. Bal. *nāfaγ*, Kurd. *nāv*.

bh > *mh*.

§ 316. The change of *bh* to *mh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaṇati* 'speaks,' Prāk. *bhaṇaï*, Pāli *bhaṇati*, Mar. *mhaṇaṇēmi*.

bh > *v*.

§ 317. The change of *bh* to *v* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nabhas* 'cloud,' Yidg. *nuvuh*.

bh > *h*.

§ 318. The change of *bh* to *h* is the most common of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian *bh* is subject in the Indian dialects, but *bh* does not become *h* in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāṇḍa* 'pot,' Pāli *bhaṇḍa*, Uṛ., Bang. *hāṁḍi*, Bihārī *hāṁḍ*, *bhāṁḍ*, Hindī, Panj. *hōṁḍī*, Sindhī *haṁḍī*, Guj. *hāṁḍī*, Mar. *hāṁḍī*. Skt. *labhati* 'takes,' Prāk. *lahaï*, Pāli *labhati*, Uṛ. *nē*, Bang. *laō*, Old Hindī *laha*, Hindī *lē*, Panj. *lahi*, *lāi*, Sindhī *lah*, Guj. *lē*, Mar. *nē*. Skt. *bhavati* 'becomes,' Prāk. *huvaï*, *bhavaï*, Pāiś. Prāk. *bhōti*, Śaur. *hōdi*, *huvadi*, *havadi*, *bhōdi*, *bhuvadi*, *bhavadi*, Pāli *hōti*, *bhavati*, Uṛ. *hōibā*, *hēbā*, Bang. *hōitē*, Hindī *hōnā*, Panj. *hōṇā*, Sindhī *huaṇu*, Guj. *hōvuṁ*, Mar. *hōṇēṁ*.

m = *m*.

§ 319. Indo-Iranian *m* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Prāk., Pāli *majjha*, Ass.

māj, Kaśm. *maṁz*, Ur. *majhi*, Bang. *mājh*, Hindī *mājhi*, *maṁjhōlā*, Panj. *mājjh*, *majjh*, Sindhī *maṁjhu*, Mar. *mājh*, Siṁh. *mā(m)da*. Skt. *mṛta* 'dead,' Prāk. *maa*, *mua*, Māg. Prāk. *maḍē*, Ur. *malā*, Hindī *muā*, Panj. *muiā*, Sindhī *muō*, Guj. *muvuṁ*, Mar. *mēlēṁ*, Siṁh. *maḷa*. Skt. *kṣamā* 'patience,' Prāk. *khamā* 'patience,' *chamā* 'earth,' Pāli *khamā*, Hindī *chimā*, Panj., Sindhī *khimā*, Guj. *khamā*, Mar. *khamaṇēṁ*. Skt. *grāma* 'village,' Prāk., Pāli *gāma*, Ur., Bang. *gāṁ*, Hindī *gāṁv*, Sindhī *gāmu*, *gāū*, Guj. *gām*, Mar. *gāṁv*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maiδyana* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*, Wāxī *malung*, Šiγn. *maδāna*, Sarq. *maδān*, Afγ. *manǰ*, Dig. Oss. *mēdag*, Tag. *mūdag*. Av. *mərəta* 'dead,' Phl. *marṭ* 'mortal,' New Pers. *mard*, Bal. *mar*, Kurd. *mir*. Av. *zimō* 'of winter,' Phl., New Pers. *zam*, Wāxī *zam*, Šiγn. *zimj*, *zinj*, Sarq. *zamān*, Afγ. *žimai*, Dig. Oss. *zumag*, Tag. *zimag*. Av. *nąman* 'name,' Old Pers. *nāman*, Phl., New Pers. *nām*, Māz. *nūm*, Gīl. *nōm*, Wāxī *nung*, Afγ. *nūm*, Bal. *nām*, Dig. Oss. *non*, plur. *namththa*, Tag. *nom*. Phl. *yāmak*, *jāmak* 'robe,' New Pers. *jāmah*, So Kurd. *yūma*.

m > *n*.

§ 320. The change of *m* to *n* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *nąman* 'name,' Dig. Oss. *non*, but plur. *namththa*, etc. (see preceding §).

m > *ng*.

§ 321. The change of *m* to *ng* occurs but seldom.

b. Iranian. Av. *nąman* 'name,' Wāxī *nung*, etc. (see § 319). Skt. *āma* 'raw,' New Pers. *xām*, Wāxī *yūng*, Afγ. *ōm*, *ūm*, Bal. *hāmag*, N. Bal. *hāmaγ*, Kurd. *xāv*.

m > *ph*, *f*.

§ 322. The change of *m* to *ph*, *f*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dāman* 'bond,' New Pers. *dām*, Afγ. *lūm*, Kurd. *daf*.

m > *b*.

§ 323. The change of *m* to *b* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mahiṣa* 'buffalo,' Pāli *mahiṁsa*, Kaśm. *mūṇṣ*, Uṛ. *bhayēṣa*, Bang. *bhaiṁs*, Bihārī *mhāis*, *bhāiṁs*, *mahis*, *bahis*, Hindī *bhāiṁs*, *mhāiṁs*, Panj. *majh*, Sindhī *maṁjh*, *māṁhi*, Guj. *bhēṁs*, *bhāiṁs*, *bhāiṁh*, Mar. *bhāiṁs*, *mhāis*. Skt., Pāli *manōrama* 'delightful,' Old Siṁh. *manumaraka* 'grandson' < **manurama-ka*, Siṁh. *munuburu* (*m* > *b* by dissimilation).

m > *v*.

§ 324. In the New Indian dialects the change of *m* to *v* is a very frequent one. It is more rare in the Middle Indian, while only a few instances are quotable from the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *manmatha* 'love,' Prāk. *vammaha*, Śaur. Prāk. *mammadha*. Skt. *abhimanyu* nom. prop., Prāk. *ahivaṇṇu*, *ahimaṇṇu*. Skt. *yāmala* 'pair,' Jāina Prāk. *yāvara*, Pāli *yamala*. Skt. *mīmāṁs* 'investigating,' Pāli *vīvāṁs*. Skt. *āmalaka* 'myrobalan,' Prāk. *āmalaa*, Pāli *āmalaka*, Uṛ. *āṁalā*, Bang. *āōlā*, *āūḷā*, Hindī, Panj. *āṁvalā*, Sindhī *āṁvirō*, Mar. *āṁvaḷā*. Skt. *śyāmala* 'swarthy,' Pāli *sāmala*, E. Hindī *sāṁvar*, Hindī *sāṁvalā*, W. Hindī *sāṁvraū*, Panj. *sāṁvalā*, Sindhī *sāṁvalu*, *sāṁviru*, Mar. *sāṁvaḷā*. Skt. *gōsvāmika* 'monk,' Bihārī *gōsāmī*, Mar. *gōsāvī*, other New Ind. dialects *gōsāīṁ*, Anglo-Ind. *gosain*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daēman* 'face,' Phl. *andēmānkar*, Pāz. *andīmānī*, New Pers. *dīm*, Sīv., Zaf., Kāš. *dim*, Kuhr. *dim*, *düm*, Afγ. *lēma*, Bal. *dēm*, N. Bal. *dḛv*, *dēv*, Kurd. *dēm*. Av. *pairi* 'around' + *vaɛaiti* 'flies,' New Pers. *parmāɛ* 'flight' beside *parvāɛ*. New Pers. *parvānah* 'butterfly' beside *parmānah*. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Phl. *namāc*, Pāz., New Pers. *namāɛ*, Afγ. *nmunǰ*, Bal. *navāš*, *namāš*, Kurd. *nīvēɛ*, *nvēž*, *nmēž*. Av. *naēma* 'half,' Phl. *nēm(ak)*, Pāz., New Pers. *nīm*, Afγ. *nīmai*, Bal. *nēmag*, Kurd. *nīv*.

m > *s*.

§ 325. The change of *m* to *s* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhramara* 'bee,' Prāk. *bhasala*, *bhasara*,

bhasana, *bhamara*, Apab. Prāk. *bhasahu*, Jāina Prāk. *bhasara*, Pāli *bhamara*, Uṛ. *bhaṁara*, Bang. *bhāmara*, Bihārī *bhāuṁrā*, Hindī *bhaṁvar*, *bhāuṁr*, Panj. *bhaṁur*, Sindhī *bhāuṁru*, Mar. *bhōṁr*. [So Hēmacandra falsely (see Pischel, § 251).]

m > *ṁ*.

§ 326. The change of *m* to *ṁ* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *nāman* 'name,' Hindī *nāṁv*, Panj. *nāuṁ*, Sindhī *nāṁuṁ*, Mar. *nāv*, Gyp. *anāv*, *nav*. Skt., Prāk. *bhūmi* 'earth,' Pāli *bhūmi*, *bhummi*, Uṛ. *bhūma*, *bhūiṁ*, Bang. *bhūm*, Hindī *bhūṁ*, *bhūiṁ*, *bhūm*, Panj. *bhūṁ*, *bhūiṁ*, *bhōiṁ*, *bhūm*, Sindhī *bhūiṁ*, *bhā*, Guj. *bhū*, *bhuy*, *bhōy*, Mar. *bhūy*, Siṁh. *bima*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *rōman* 'hair of the body,' Bang. *rōṁā*, Bihārī *rōāṁ*, *rōvaṁ*, Hindī, Panj., *rōāṁ*, Sindhī *lūṁ*. Skt. *gōsvāmika* 'monk,' New Ind. dialects *gōsāīṁ*, etc. (see § 324). Skt., Prāk., Pāli *dhūma* 'smoke,' Ass. *dhōṁā*, Nāip. *dhūāṁ*, Kaśm. *duh*, Bang. *dhuyāṁ*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *dhūṁāṁ*, *dhūāṁ*, Sindhī *duṁhāṁ*, Guj., Mar. *dhūm*, Siṁh. *dum*.

m > *ṁv*.

§ 327. The change of *m* to *ṁv* is found occasionally in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāman* 'name,' Hindī *nāṁv*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kumāra* 'prince,' Prāk. *kumăra*, Māg. Prāk. *kumālē*, Pāli *kumāraka*, Bihārī *kuṁar*, *kuar*, *kuvar*, Hindī *kuṁvar*, Panj. *kaṁvar*, Mar. *kuṁvar*.

Syncope of m.

§ 328. The loss of Indo-Iranian *m* is very frequent in the New Indian dialects, although in Middle Indian *m* is lost only when final. In the Iranian dialects the phenomenon is found but rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *katham* 'how,' Prāk. *kaha*, *kahaṁ*. Skt. *idānīm* 'now,' Prāk. *dāṇi*, *dāṇiṁ*, Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions

hidalōkika 'temporal.' Skt., Pāli *nēmi* 'circumference,' Ur. *nia*, Bang. *nēō*, E. Hindī, Hindī *nēv*, Panj. *niuṁ*, Guj. *nēv*. Skt. *cāmara* 'ox-tail fan,' Prāk. *cămara*, Pāli *cāmara*, Ur. *caṁara*, Bang. *cāuṁr*, *camarā*, Hindī *cāurī*, *cāuṁrī*, Panj. *cāur*, Sindhī *cāuru*, Guj. *cāurī*, Mar. *cāurī*, *cāumrī*, *cāmar*, Anglo-Ind. *chowry*. Skt. *dhūma* 'smoke,' Nāip. *dhūāṁ*, Hindī, Panj. *dhūāṁ*, *dhūṁāṁ*, etc. (see § 326). Skt. *vāmana* 'dwarf,' Prāk., Pāli *vāmana*, Bang. *bāuniyā*, Hindī *banā*, *bāunā*, Panj. *bāuṇā*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *gadumava*, name of a place, Phl., Pāz. *ganǰum* 'garlic,' New Pers. *gandum*, Nāy. *gundō*, Wāxī *γidīm*, Šiγn. *ɛindam*, Sarq. *ɛāndām*, *ɛandum*, Sangl., Minj. *γandam*, Yidg. *γadum*, Afγ. *γanum*, Bal. *gandīm*. Old Pers. *avākanam* 'I dug,' New Pers. *kanam*, Gab. *akana*, *akanē*, but 1 pl. *akanīm*.

Epenthesis of m, ṁ.

§ 329. In the Indian dialects epenthesis of *m*, *ṁ*, is very frequent. It is far less common in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yat prabhṛti* 'since,' Jāina Prāk. *jappabhiiṁ*, cf. Māhār. Prāk. *tappabhiiṁ*. Skt. *mahiṣa* 'buffalo,' Pāli *mahiṁsa*, Kaśm. *mūṁṣ*, Bang. *bhaiṁs*, Bihārī *bhāiṁs*, *mhāis*, *mahis*, *bahis*, Hindī *bhāiṁs*, *mhāiṁs*, Sindhī *maṁjh*, *māṁhi*, Guj. *bhēṁs*, *bhaiṁs*, *bhāiṁh*, Mar. *bhāiṁs*, *mhāis*, etc. (see § 323). Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Nāip. *kuvā*, Kaśm. *khuh*, Ur., Bang. *kūā*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *kūṁāṁ*, *kūāṁ*, Sindhī *khūhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuvō*. Skt. *chāyā* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chāhī*, *chāyā* 'beauty,' Pāli *chāyā*, Ur. *chāhīna*, Bihārī *chāṁh*, Hindī *chāṁ*, *chaṁv*, *chāṁh*, *chāōṁ*, Panj. *chāṁ*, *chāūṁ*, Sindhī *chāṁ(v)*, Guj. *chāṁy*. Skt. *nabhas* 'cloud,' Prāk. *naha*, Pāli *nabha*, Siṁh. *nuṁba*, *nuba*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *lajjā* 'modesty,' Ur., Old Bang., Hindī *lajjā*, *lāj*, Panj. *lajj*, Sindhī *laj*, Guj., Mar. *lajjā*, *lāj*, Siṁh. *laṁda*, *lada*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *pṛdāku* 'leopard,' New Pers. *palang*, *pilang*, Afγ. *pṛāng*. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Afγ. *nmunǰ*, etc. (see § 324). Lat. *vespa* 'wasp,' Lith. *vapsa*, Bal. *gvams*, *gvabs*. New Pers.

pōz 'part about the nose,' Gab. *pūz*, Sangl. *fuzik*, Minj. *foska*, Afγ. *pōza*, *paza*, Bal. *pōnz*, *pōz*, N. Bal. *phōnz*, *phōz*, Kurd. *pūz*, *pōz*, Dig. Oss. *finǰa*, Tag. *fing*. Phl. *huftanŏ* 'to hide,' 3 s. pres. *hūmbēd*, New Pers. *nihuftan*, *nihunbīdan*, Kurd. *nixiftin*.

$y = y$.

§ 330. Indo-Iranian *y* remains in general unchanged in the Iranian dialects, especially in the Persian dialects. In the Indian dialects, on the other hand, the preservation of an initial *y* is excessively rare, although it is usually retained internally.

a. Indian. Skt. *yabhati* 'futuit,' Sindhī *yabhaṇu*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *dayālu* 'merciful,' Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *dayāl(u)*, Sindhī *ḍayālu*, Guj., Mar. *dayāḷ(u)*. Skt. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hia(y)a*, Pāiś. Prāk. *hitaaka*, Pāli *hadaya*, Ass., Uṛ., Bihārī *hiă*, Hindī *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyāṁ*, *hiāuṁ*, Sindhī *hiṁāṁu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēṁ*, Gyp. *(y)ilo*.

b. Iranian. Av. *yaska* 'disease,' Phl. *yask*, New Pers. *jask*. Skt. *yuga* 'yoke,' New Pers. *juγ*, Kuhr. *yū*, Šiγn. *yuγ*, Sarq. *yūγ*, Bal. *jōγ*, Kurd. *jūk*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Phl. *yav*, *jav*, New Pers. *jav*, Šīv. *yu*, Zaf. *yah*, Kāš. *ya*, Kuhr. *yah*, Šiγn. *yavaj*, Sarq. *yaugj*, Yaγn. *yau*, Bal. *jō*, *jau*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, Mukrī *yō*, Oss. *yau*. Av. *yāna* 'path,' New Pers. *yān*, Afγ. *yūn*. Av. *asaya* 'shadowless,' Phl. *sāyak* 'shadow,' New Pers. *sāyah*, Bal. *sāig*, N. Bal. *sāī*, Kurd. *sī*. Av. *zayata* 'was born,' Phl. *zayand*, New Pers. *zayad*, Afγ. *zēžī*, Bal. *zāyag*, N. Bal. *zāγ*, Kurd. *zāin*, Oss. *zayi*.

$y > j$.

§ 331. In the Indian dialects original *y* regularly becomes *j*. Uṛiya and Bangālī pronounce every *y* as *j*, and the same practice is observed in most instances by Hindī and Panjābī. The West Indian dialects, the Sindhī, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī, on the other hand, retain the Old Indian value of *y* (cf. also § 308). The change of *y* to *j* is less common in the Iranian dialects, although New Persian, Afγān, Balūcī, and Kurdish show frequent examples of it.

a. Indian. Skt. *ya* 'who,' Prāk. *ja*, Pāli *ya*, U̯r., Bang. *jē*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *jō*, Guj. *jē*, Mar. *jō*. Skt. *yōgya* 'worthy,' Prāk. *jogga*, Pāli *yogga*, New Ind. dialects *jōg*, Mar. also *yōg*. Skt. *yāuvana* 'youth,' Prāk. *jovvaṇa*, Pāli *yobbana*, Sindhī *jōbhanu*. Skt. *yantragṛha* 'bath-room,' Pāli *jantāghara*, *jantaggha*. Skt. *yathā* 'how,' Prāk. *jahā*, Pāli *jathā*, Gāthā *jahā*, U̯r. *jēṭhā*, Bang. *jēkhānē*, Hindī *jahāni*, Panj. *jitthē*, Sindhī *jiti*, Guj. *jāṁhāṁ*, Mar. *jēthēṁ*, *jithē*. Skt., Pāli *yāna* 'vehicle,' U̯r. *jibā*, Bang. *jāṫē*, Hindī *jānā*, Panj. *jāṇā*, Guj. *javuṁ*, Mar. *yāṇēṁ*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *yuviyā* 'canal,' Phl. *yōī*, *jōī*, New Pers. *jōi*, Afγ. *jova*. Av. *yuxta* 'joined,' Phl. *juxt*, New Pers. *juft*, Afγ. *juxt*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Phl. *jav*, *yav*, New Pers. *jav*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *yāma* 'glass,' Phl. *jām*, *yām*, New Pers. *jām*.

y > *b*.

§ 332. The change of *y* to *b* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pūya* 'pus,' Pāli *pubba*. Skt. *jarāyu* 'uterus,' Pāli *jalābu*, Siṁh. *dalabu*.

y > *bh*.

§ 333. The change of *y* to *bh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarayu* name of a river, Pāli *sarabhu*.

y > *r*.

§ 334. The change of *y* to *r* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śrāmanēya* 'novice,' Pāli *sāmaṇēra*. Skt. *snāyu* 'sinew,' Jaina Prāk. *ṇhāru*, Pāli *nahāru*, Siṁh. *naharaya*.

y > *l*.

§ 335. The change of *y* to *l* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *yaṣṭi* 'staff,' Prāk. *laṭṭhi*, Śaur. Prāk. *jaṭṭhi*, Pāli *laṭṭhi*, U̯r., Bang. *lāṭhī*, Hindī *lāṭ(ī)*, *lāṭhī*, Panj. *laṭṭhī*, Sindhī *lāṭhī*, Guj. *lāṭ*, *lāṭh*, Mar. *laṭṭh*. Skt. *dyōtayati* 'illuminates,' Pāli

jōtalati, jōtayati, jōtēti. Bihārī *dilōtarsu* 'one hundred and two' beside *diyōtarsu* (on the analogy of *tilōtarsu, calōtarsu,* etc.).

y > v.

§ 336. The change of *y* to *v* occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *mṛgaya* 'hunt,' Pāli *migava.* Skt. *trayastriṁśat* 'thirty-three,' Jāina Prāk., Pāli *tavattīsa,* Kaśm. *tyayatrah,* Bihārī *tāiṁtis,* cf. archaic Siṁh. *tavak.* Skt. *āyudha* 'weapon,' Prāk. *āūha,* Pāiś. Prāk. *āyudha,* Pāli *āyudha, āvudha,* Siṁh. *avi(ya).*

y > h.

§ 337. The change of *y* to *h* is an exceedingly rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *chāya* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chāhā* 'shadow,' *chāyā* 'beauty,' Pāli *chāyā,* Uṛ. *chāhīna,* Hindī *chāṁh, chāṁ(v), chāōṁ,* Panj. *cā(ū)ṁ,* Sindhī *chāṁ(v),* Guj. *cāṁy.* Skt. *ranañjaya* 'victorious,' Pāli *ranaṁjaha.* Skt. *svayampati* 'epithet of Brāhma,' Pāli *sahampati.*

Apocope of y.

§ 338. The loss of an original initial *y* is found, although but seldom, in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yūkā* 'louse,' Pāli *ūkā,* Hindī *jūṁ,* Gyp. *juv.*

b. Iranian. Skt. *yuṣmākam* 'of you,' GAv. *xšmāka,* YAv. *yušmākəm,* Pāz. New Pers. *šumā,* Bal. *šavā,* Dig. Oss. *smax,* Tag. *sumax.*

Syncope of y.

§ 339. The loss of an original *y* is not a very frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kisalaya* 'sprout,' Prāk. *kisala, kisalaya.* Skt. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hiaa, hiaya,* Pāiś. Prāk. *hitaaka,* Ass., Uṛ., Bang. *hiā,* Panj. *hiāuṁ, hiyāṁ,* etc. (see § 330). Skt. *vāyu* 'wind,' Prāk. *vāū,* Pāli *vāyu,* Uṛ. *bōa,* Bang., Hindī *bāī, bāō,* Panj. *vāū,* Sindhī *bāī, vāū,* Guj. *vā(ī),* Mar. *vāv.* Skt. *dēva-*

laya 'temple,' Ur. *dēūl*, Bang., Hindī *dēval*, Panj. *dēvālā*, Sindhī *dēvalī*, Guj. *dēval*, Mar. *dēval*, *dēūl*.

Prothesis of y.

§ 340. Prothetic *y* is occasionally found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēva* 'indeed,' Prāk. *yēva*, Śaur. Prāk. *jevva*, Pāli *ēva*, *yēva*, *hēva*. Skt. *āvirbhutvā* 'having become manifest,' Jāina Prāk. *yāvihottā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ātarš* 'fire,' Phl. *ātaš*, New Pers. (*ā*)*taš*, *ātiš*, Gab. *taš*, Šiγn. *yāč*, Sarq. *yuč*, Minj. *yūr*, N. Bal. *ac*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Wāxī *yaš*, Minj., Yidg. *yasp*, Afγ. *ās*, Bal. (*h*)*aps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *afsa*, Tag. *yafs*. Av. *ahmi* 'I am,' Old Pers. *amiy*, New Pers. *am*, Afγ. *yam*, *am*, Kurd. *im*.

aya > *ā*.

§ 341. The loss of Indo-Iranian *y* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, which has been noted in § 339, gives rise to various contractions. Similar contractions often occur in consequence of the syncope of Indo-Iranian consonants. The contraction of *aya* to *ā* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *abhyayana* 'rehabilitation,' Pāli *abbhāna*. Skt., Pāli *udaya* 'rise,' Siṁh. *udā*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *dārayavauš* nom. prop., Phl. *dāriav*, New Pers. *dārā*(*b*), *dārāv*.

aya > *ē*.

§ 342. The contraction of *aya* to *ē* is the normal one in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. It is carried out in all causatives in the Middle Indian.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhārayati* 'holds,' Prāk. *dhārēi*, Pāli *dhārēti*. Skt. *kathayati* 'tells,' Śaur. Prāk. *kadhēdi*, *kahēdi*, Pāli *kathēti*. Skt. *nayati* 'leads,' Prāk. *nēi*, Śaur. Prāk. *nēdi*, Paiś. Prāk. *nēti*, Pāli *nayati*, *nēti*, Gāthā *upanēti*. Skt. *kṣaya* 'destruction,' Māg. Prāk., Pāli *khaya*, Hindī, Panj. *chai*, Guj. *khē*, Mar. *khaī*. Skt.,

Prāk., Pāli *bhaya* 'fear,' Uṛ. *bhē*, Hindī, Panj. *bhāi*, Sindhī *bhāi*, *bhāu*, Mar. *bhē*. Skt. *nayana* 'eye,' Prāk. *ṇaaṇa*, Pāli *nayana*, Hindī, Panj. *nāin*, Sindhī *nēṇu*, Guj. *nēnam*, *nēṁn*. Skt. *maya* 'mother,' Siṁh. *maēṇiyam*. Skt. *śayanāsana* 'bed-room,' Pāli *sayanāsana*, Siṁh. *senasun*.

b. Iranian. Av. *paourva* 'former' + *ayarə* 'day,' Phl., New Pers. *parēr*, Kāš. *parē*, Bal. *parērī*, *pairērī* 'last year,' N. Bal. *phairī*. Av. *zayeiti* 'is born,' Pāmir dialects *zīd*.

ayū > *ō*.

§ 343. The contraction of *ayū* to *ō* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mayūra* 'peacock,' Prāk., Pāli *mōra*, Kaśm., Uṛ. *mōr*, Sindhī *mōru*, Guj., Mar. *mōr*.

ayō > *ē*, *āi*.

§ 344. The contraction of *ayō* to *ē*, *āi*, is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *trayōdaśa* 'thirteen,' Prāk. *tēraha*, *tēdasa* (inscriptions of Khālsi), *trāidasa* (inscriptions of Girnar), Pāli *tērasa*, Kaśm. *truvāh*, Uṛ. *tēra*, Bang. *tērō*, Hindī *tērah*, Panj. *tērāṁ*, Sindhī *tērahāṁ*, Guj. *tēr*, Mar. *tērā*.

iya > *ĭ*.

§ 345. The contraction of *iya* to *ĭ* is a rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *kiyant* 'how much?' Pāli *kittaka* < **kiyattaka*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *priya* 'beloved,' Av. *frya*, New Pers. *frī*.

āya > *ā*.

§ 346. The contraction of *āya* to *ā* seems to be the most usual one to which *āya* is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *vāihāyasa* 'aerial,' Jāina Prāk., Pāli *vēhāsa*. Skt. *upaṭṭhāyaka* 'servant,' Pāli *upaṭṭhāka*. Skt. *kālāyasa* 'iron,' Pāli *kālāsa*, *kālāyasa*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *xšāyaθiya* 'king,' Phl., New Pers. *šāh*.

āya > ē

§ 347. The contraction of *āya* to *ē* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *palāyati* 'flees,' Māhār. Prāk. *palāyai*, Pāli *palēti*.

āya > aï.

§ 348. The contraction of *āya* to *aï* is found in Ossetish.

b. Iranian. Av. *frasnāyanta* 'they washed,' Dig. Oss. *axsnun*, Tag. *axsnin* 'wash,' Tag. *naïn* 'bathe.' Skt. *rāyati* 'bellows,' Oss. *raïn*.

r = r.

§ 349. Indo-Iranian *r* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rēkhā* 'streak,' Prāk. *rēhā*, Pāli *rēkhā*, Hindī, Panj. *rēkh*, Sindhī *rēghī*, Guj. *rēg*, Mar. *rē(g)h*. Skt. *rājan* 'king,' Prāk. *rāā*, Māg. Prāk. *lāā*, Māhār. Prāk. *rāyā*, Paiś. Prāk. *rājā*, Cūḷikapāiś. Prāk. *rācā*, Pāli *rājan*, Hindī *rāū*, *rāv*, Siṁh. *rada*. Skt. *karpūra* 'camphor,' Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *kappūra*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī, Guj. *kapūr*, Mar. *kāpūr*. Skt. *śvaśura* 'father-in-law,' Pāli *sasura*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī *sasur*, Panj. *sahurā*, *sāuhurā*, Sindhī *sahurō*, Guj., Mar. *sāsarā*, Maladive *hurs*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoγna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōkan*, *rōγan*, New Pers. *rōγan*, Kāš. *ruγan*, *rō*, Wāxī *ruγūn*, *ruγn*, Sarq. *ravan*, Sangl. *roγ*, Minj. *raγan*, Kurd. *rūn*. Av., Old Pers. *rāsta* 'right,' Phl., New Pers. *rāst*, Oss. *rast*, *rasth*. Av. *raocah* 'day,' Old Pers. *raucah*, Phl. *rōc(īh)*, New Pers. *rōz*, Gab. *rūj*, Caspian dialects *rū*, but Kāš. *rū*, Tāl. *rōš*, *rūž*, Afγ. *rvaj*, Bal. *rōc*, N. Bal. *rōš*, Kurd. *ruž*, *rō(ž)*. Av. *starə* 'star,' Phl. *stārak*, New Pers. *sitārah*, Wāxī *stār*, Šiγn. *štarǰ*, Sarq. *xturj*, Sangl. *ustūrak*, Minj. *astāri*, Afγ. *stōrai*, Kurd. *istirk*, Zaza *astar*, Oss. *stali*. Av. *x^{v}arəiti* 'eats,' Old Pers. μαρτι-χόρα, Phl. *x^{v}arṯanŏ*, New Pers. *xurdan*, Kāš. *xūrtan*, Šiγn. *xaram*, Sarq. *xoram*, Sangl. *x^{v}aram*, Minj. *xaram*, Afγ. *x^{v}aṛal*, Bal. *varag*, N. Bal. *varaγ*, Kurd. *xurin*, *x^{v}ārin*, Dig. Oss. *xvarun*, Tag. *xarin*.

r > *j*.

§ 350. The change of *r* to *j* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *pūraṇa* 'fulfilment,' Hindī *pūjna*, Sindhī *pujāṇu*.

r > *ḍh*.

§ 351. The change of *r* to *ḍh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ārabdha* 'beginning,' Prāk. *āḍhatta*, *āraddha*, Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *āraddha*. [See now Pischel, § 223.]

r > *d*.

§ 352. The change of *r* to *d* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *purandara* 'epithet of Indra,' Pāli *purindada*, *purinda* (by assimilation or false analogy).

r > *n*.

§ 353. The change of *r* to *n* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *dārayāmiy* 'I hold,' Phl., New Pers. *dāram*, Wāxī *vaδūram*, Sarq. *δoram*, Lād. *dānam*. Phl., New Pers. *mār* 'serpent,' Afγ. *mangarai*.

r > *l*.

§ 354. The change of *r* to *l* is by far the most common of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian *r* is subject, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In Māgadhī Prākrit *r* becomes *l* everywhere. Similarly in the Prākrit of the inscriptions of Dhauli, Jaugada, Khālsi, Bhabra, Sahasarām, and Bairāt *r* becomes *l* throughout, but in the inscriptions of Rūpnāth *r* occurs twice.

a. Indian. Skt. *ratnī* 'night,' Prāk. *rattī*, *rāī*, Māg. Prāk. *lattī*, Pāli *rattī*, Uṛ., Bang. *rāt(i)*, Hindī *rāt*, Panj. *rāt*, Sindhī *rāti*, Guj., Mar. *rāt*. Skt. *caraṇa* 'foot,' Prāk. *calaṇa*, Śaur. Prāk. also *caraṇa*, Apab. Prāk. *calaṇu*, Paiś. Prāk. *calaṇa*, Pāli *caraṇa*. Skt. *hāridra* 'yellow,' Prāk., Pāli *hālidda*. Skt. *parigha* 'iron bar,' Pāli *paligha*. Skt. *rẽjju* 'string,' Ass. *lẽju*, E. Hindī *lẽjurī*. Skt. *catvāriṁśat* 'forty,' Prāk. *cattālīsa*,

cāālīsa, Pāli *cattāḷīsa*, *cattarīsa*, Kaśm. *čatajih*, Uṛ. *cāliśa*, Bang. *calliśa*, Bihārī *cālis*, Hindī *cālīs*, Panj. *cāḷī*, Sindhī *cālīh*, Guj., Mar. *cālīs*, Siṁh. *hataḷiha*, *sataḷiha*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raēcayaṯ* 'poured,' Phl. *rēxtanŏ*, Pāz. *rēxēd*, New Pers. *rēxtan*, Gab. *rētmūn*, Vōn. *rētan*, Wāxī *varicam*, Sarq. *varaiẓam*, Bal. *rēcag*, N. Bal. *rīšaγ*, Kurd. *rētin*, Dig. Oss. *lēǰun*, Tag. *līǰin*. Av. *vāraγna* 'raven,' Phl. *vālaγ*, *vāraγ*, *vārak*. Av. (*spą*) *taurunō* 'puppy,' Phl. *taruk*, *tūruk*, *tōruk*, *tōrak*, New Pers. *tōlah*, *tōrah*, Gab. *tōrah*, Kāš. *töra*, *tūra*, *tura*, Bal. *tōlag*, N. Bal. *thōlaγ*, Kurd. *tūra*. New Pers. *sūrāx* 'hole,' Judaeo-Pers. *sūlāx*, Afγ. *sūrai*. Av. *maoiri* 'ant,' Phl., New Pers. *mōr*, Gab. *mōrīk*, Vōn. *mōrcuna*, Dig. Oss. *muljug*, Tag. *maljig*. Av., Phl., New Pers. *nar* 'man,' Sangl. *narak*, Afγ., Bal., Kurd. *nar*, Dig. Oss. *nala*, Tag. *nal*.

r > *l*

§ 355. The change of *r* to *l* is not a very frequent one. It is, of course, confined to the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *aṅgāra* 'coal,' Prāk. *iṁgālā*, Pāli *aṁgāra*, Guj. *iṁgārō*, *aṁgārō*, Mar. *iṁgāḷ(ā)*, *iṁgōḷ*, Gyp. *angār*. Skt. *catvāriṁśat* 'forty,' Pāli *cattāḷīsa*, *cattārīsa*, Panj. *cāḷī*, Siṁh. *hataḷiha*, *sataḷiha*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kṣāra* 'ashes,' Prāk. *chāra*, Pāli *khāra*, *chārika*, New Ind. dialects *khār*, but Sindhī *chāru*, Siṁh. (*h*)*aḷu*, Maladive *hulu*.

Syncope of r.

§ 356. The loss of an original *r* is infrequent both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *param*, *parē* 'beyond,' Māg. Prāk. *palē*, Apab. Prāk. *pali*, Bihārī *pāi*. Skt. *durōsārita* 'duly and unduly restored,' Pāli *dōsarita*.

b. Iranian. Pāz., New Pers. *agar* 'if,' Sīv. *aγ*. New Pers. *kar* 'make!' Gab. *kar*, Central dialects *ka*, Kāš. *ki*, Nāy. *nika*. New Pers. *bar* 'bear!' Zaf. *bar*, Kāš. *ba*, Vōn. *bar*, Kuhr., Kurd.

ba. Av. *mātar* 'mother,' Phl. *māṯ(ar)*, New Pers. *mādar*, Gab. *māye*, Kāš. *maī*, *mōya*, Māz. *mār*, *mūr*, Gīl. *mōr*, *māar*, Tāl. *mū*, Šiyn. *mād*, Minj. *māyā*, Afγ. *mōr*, Bal. *māt*, N. Bal. *māθ*, *mās*, Kurd. *māk*, Dig. Oss. *mada*, Tag. *mǎd*.

Epenthesis of r.

§ 357. Epenthetic *r* occurs in the Indo-Iranian dialects very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kōṭi* 'ten millions,' Māg. Prāk. *kōḍi*, Bihārī *karōr*, *karōṛ*, Hindī *krōr*, Anglo-Ind. *crore*. Skt. *vyāsa* nom. prop., Apab. Prāk. *vrāsu*. Skt. *bhāṣya* 'commentary,' Prāk. *bhrāsa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *tašaṯ* 'shaped,' archaic New Pers. *tāštan*, Afγ. *tarxaj*. Av. *baxta* 'fate,' Phl., New Pers. *baxt*, Afγ. *barxa*, ~~*braxa*~~. Av. *aži dahāka* nom. prop., Phl. *ažē dahāk*, New Pers. *ažḍahā* 'dragon,' Kurd. *ažḍarha*, *ažḍaha*.

l = *l*.

§ 358. Indo-Iranian *l* is in general preserved unchanged in the Indian dialects. In Old Iranian Indo-Iranian *l* was entirely lost, excepting in the foreign proper names *haldita* and *dubāla* in the Old Persian inscriptions. In the Middle and New Iranian *l* reappears, sometimes representing Indo-Iranian *l*, and sometimes Indo-Iranian *r*.

a. Indian. Skt. *lagna* 'attached,' Prāk., Pāli *lagga*, Hindī *lagā*, *lăg*, Panj. *lag*, other New Ind. dialects *lāg*. Skt. *limpati* 'smears,' Prāk. *limpaï*, Pāli *limpati*, Uṛ. *lip*, Bang. *lēp*, Hindī *līp*, *lēp*, Panj. *lipp*, *limb*, *limm*, Sindhī *limb*, Guj. *lip*, Mar. *lēp*. Skt. *āmalaka* 'myrobalan,' Prāk. *āmalaa*, Pāli *āmalaka*, Uṛ. *āṁalā*, Bang. *āōlā*, *āūlā*, Hindī *āṁvalā*, Panj. *āūḷā*, Sindhī *āṁvirō*, Mar. *āṁvaḷā*. Skt. *calati* 'wanders,' Prāk. *calaï*, Pāli *calati*, Uṛ., Bang. *cāl*, Hindī *cal*, Maṛw. *car*, Panj. *call*, Sindhī *cal*, Guj., Mar. *cāl*, *caḷ*. Skt., Pāli *pippala* 'sort of tree,' Bang. *pippal*, Bihārī, E. Hindī *pīpar*, Panj. *pippal*, Sindhī *pipiru*, Guj. *pipal*, Mar. *piṁpaḷ*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *lap* 'lip,' New Pers. *lab*, Kāš. *lav*, Tāt *lov*, Wāxī *lav*, *lafc*, Sangl. *lav*, Bal. *lap*, Kurd. *liv* (cf. Lat. *labium*, Anglo-Saxon *lippa*). Phl. *lištanŏ* 'lick,' New Pers. *lištan*, Zaf., Kāš. *balēs*, Wāxī *lixam* (cf. Skt. *lēhmi*, *rēhmi* 'I lick,' Gk. λείχω, Lith. *lëziù*, O. H. Germ. *leckôn*). Av. *garah* 'throat,' Phl. *garūk*, New Pers. *gulū*, *galū*, Sangl. *γar*, Afγ. *γāṛa*, Kurd. *garu* (cf. Skt. *gala*, Lat. *gula*, O. H. Germ. *këla*).

l > *ḍ*.

§ 359. The change of *l* to *ḍ* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *palāśa* 'green,' Śāk. Prāk. *paḍāśa*. Skt. *lalāṭa*, *rarāṭa* 'forehead,' Prāk. *ṇiḍāla*, Pāli *lalāṭa*, *nalāṭa* (cf. lexicog. Skt. *niṭala*). Skt. *tāla* 'palmyra-palm,' Pāli *tāla*, Uṛ. *tāḷ*, Bang. *tāl*, other New Ind. dialects *tāḍ*, *tāṛ*.

l > *n*.

§ 360. The change of *l* to *n* is quite frequent in the Indian dialects. In Uṛiya and Bangālī initial *l* is almost always pronounced *n*.

a. Indian. Skt. *lāṅgala* 'plough,' Prāk. *naṁgala*, *laṁgala*, Pāli *naṁgala*, Bihārī *lāṁgal*, Mar. *nāṁgar*, Siṁh. *nagula*, *nagala*. Skt. *lalāṭa*, *rarāṭa* 'forehead,' Prāk. *ṇiḍāla*, Pāli *nalāṭa*, *lalāṭa*. Skt. *lavana* 'salt,' Prāk., Pāli *lōṇa*, Kaśm., Uṛ., Bang. *nūn*, *lōṇ*, Bihārī *lōn*, *nōn*, Hindī *nōn*, *nūn*, *lūn*, Panj. *nūṇ*, Sindhī *lūṇu*, Guj. *lūṇ*, Mar. *lōṇā*, Gyp. *lon*. Skt. *luṇṭ(h)ā* 'robbery,' Uṛ. *nuṭī*, Hindī *lūṭ*, Anglo-Ind. *loot*. Skt. *dēhalī* 'threshold,' Pāli *dēhani*. Skt. *jambūla* 'rose-apple tree,' Bihārī *jāmun*.

l > *r*.

§ 361. The change of *l* to *r* is the most frequent of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian *l* is subject. In Old Iranian, as already noted in § 358, original *l* has become *r* throughout.

a. Indian. Skt. *yămala* 'pair,' Jāina Prāk. *yāvara*, Pāli *yamala*. Skt. *ālambana* 'support,' Pāli *ārammana*. Skt. *pippala* 'sort of tree,' E. Hindī *pīpar*, Sindhī *pipiru*, etc. (see § 358).

Skt. *śyāmala* 'swarthy,' Pāli *sāmala*, E. Hindī *sāṁvar*, Hindī *sāṁvalā*, W. Hindī *sāṁvrau*, Panj. *sāṁvalā*, Sindhī *sāṁviru*, *sāṁvalu*, Mar. *sāṁvaḷā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *phāla* 'plough,' New Pers. *supār*, Sarq. *spur*, Afγ. *spāra*. Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Phl. *rōpas*, *lōpas*, New Pers. *rōbāh*, Gab. *ruvās*, Sarq. *rapč*, Bal. *rophask*, Kurd. *rūvi*, Dig. Oss. *robas*, Tag. *rūbas*. Skt. *likṣā* 'nit,' New Pers. *rišk*, Afγ. *rica*, Dig. Oss. *liska*, Tag. *lisk*.

l > *ḷ*.

§ 362. The change of *l* to *ḷ* occurs frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk. *kāla* 'black,' Pāli *kāḷa*, Uṛ. *kaḷā*, Bang., Hindī *kālā*, Panj. *kāḷā*, Sindhī *kārō*, Guj. *kāḷō*, Mar. *kāḷā*, Siṁh., Maladive *kaḷu*. Skt. *sthala* 'place,' Uṛ., Panj. *thaḷ*, Sindhī *tharu*, Guj., Mar. *thaḷ*. Skt. *ṭalati* 'totters,' Uṛ. *ṭaḷ*, Bang., Hindī *ṭal*, Panj. *ṭaḷ*, Sindhī *ṭiṛ*, *ṭar*, Guj., Mar. *ṭaḷ*.

Syncope of l.

§ 363. The syncope of an original *l* is an excessively rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kiṁculaka* 'earth-worm,' Māg. Prāk. *kiṁculaē*, Bihārī *kĕṁcuvā*, *kĕṁcvā*. Skt. *balivarda* 'bull,' Prāk. *baṛlla*, Pāli *balivadda*. Skt. *khalu* 'indeed,' Prāk. (*k*)*khu*, Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions *khō*, *ku*, Pāli *khō*.

v = *v*.

§ 364. Indo-Iranian *v* remains in general unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vartikā* 'wick,' Prāk. *vattiā*, Pāli *vaṭṭikā*, Uṛ. *bati*, Bang. *bātī*, Hindī, Panj. *batti*, Sindhī *vaṭi*, Guj. *bati*, Mar. *batti*. Skt. *vṛścika* 'scorpion,' Prāk. *viṁchia*, *viṁchua*, *viṁcua*, *viñcua*, Pāli *vicchika*, Uṛ. *bichū*(*ā*), Bang. *bichā*, Hindī *bichūā*, Panj. *bicchū*, Sindhī *bichūṁ*, *viṁchū*, Guj. *viṁchū*, *vichu*, Mar. *viṁcū*. Skt. *pavana* 'wind,' Prāk. *paūṇa*, Pāli *pavana*, Kaśm.

pāvan, Uṛ., Bang. *paban*, other New Indian dialects *pavan*, also Hindī *paũn*, Panj. *paũṇ*, Guj. *põṇ*. Skt. *navati* 'ninety,' Prāk. *naũim*, Pāli *navuti*, Kaśm. *namath*, Uṛ. *nabā*, Bang. *nabbaï*, Bihārī *nabbē*, Hindī, Panj. *navvē*, Sindhī *navē*, Guj. *nēvuṁ*, Mar. *navvad*.

b. Iranian. Av. *varəcaŋhvant* 'glorious,' Phl. *varc*, *varj*, New Pers. *varj*. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Phl. *vāt*, New Pers. *bād*, Gab. *vād*, Sīv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Vōn., Kuhr., Nāy. *vōd*, Nat. *vād*, Māz. *va*, Tāt *vār*, Afy. *vō*, Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāθ*, *grāṣ*, Kurd. *vāi*, *bā*, Tag. Oss. *vād*. Av. *vafra* 'snow,' Phl. *vafr*, New Pers. *barf*, Gab., Kāš., Māz., Gīl. *varf*, Tāl. *vā*, Judaeo-Pers. *vahr*, Sangl. *varf*, Minj. *varfa*, Afy. *vāvra*, Kurd. *vafr*, Zaza *vaura*. Av. *nava* 'new,' Phl. *navak*, *nōk*, Pāz., New Pers. *nō*, Gab. *nova*, Kāš., Šiyn. *nav*, Sarq. *nūj*, Afy. *navai*, Bal. *nōk*, N. Bal. *nōx*, Kurd. *nu*, Dig. Oss. *navag*, Tag. *nvog*. Av. *daēva* 'demon,' Phl., New Pers. *dēv*, Wāxī *līv*, Šiyn. *δīv*, Sarq. *δēv*.

v > *ŭ*.

§ 365. The vocalization or samprasāraṇa of original *v* to *ŭ* is a rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *pavana* 'wind,' Prāk. *paũṇa*, Hindī *paũn*, *pavan*, Panj. *paũṇ*, *pavan*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt., Prāk., Pāli *dēva* 'god,' New Ind. dialects *dēv*, also Uṛ., Bang. *dē*, Hindī *dēō*, *dēū*, Panj., Sindhī *dēu*, Gyp. *devēl*, *del*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēnaiti* 'sees,' Old Pers. *vaināhy*, Phl. *vēnaṭ*, New Pers. *bīnad*, Wāxī, Šiyn. *vīnam*, Sarq. *vainam*, Afy. *vīnam*, Dig. Oss. *vinun*, Tag. *unin*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Phl. *yav*, *jav*, New Pers. *jav*, Sīv. *yu*, Zaf. *yah*, Kāš. *ya*, Kuhr. *yah*, Šiyn. *yavaj*, Sarq. *yaugj*, Yaγn. *yau*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, Mukrī *yō*, Oss. *yau*. Av. *aviyanta* 'bevomited,' archaic New Pers. *vāmītan*, Dig. Oss. *vomun*, Tag. *ūmin*.

v > *k*.

§ 366. The change of *v* to *k* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *varəδa* 'plant,' Phl. *vartā*, *gul*, New Pers. *gul* 'rose,' Samn. *vāla*, Kurd. *kulilk*.

v > *g*.

§ 367. The change of *v* to *g* occurs regularly before *u* in Pāzand and New Persian.

b. Iranian. Av. *vītarəta* 'crossed,' Old Pers. *viyatarayāma*, Phl. *vitārtanŏ*, New Pers. *guðaštan*, Gab. *vadārta*, Vōn. *baidornan*, Kuhr. *baudarnādan*, Kurd. *buhūrtin*, *bahārtin*. Av. *vəhrka* 'wolf,' Phl., New Pers. *gurg*, Kāš. *var(g)*, Māz. *vurg*, Yidg. *vurγ*, Yaγn. *aurak*, Afγ. *lūg*, Bal. *gvark*, *gurk*, N. Bal. *gurkh*, Kurd. *varg*, Dig. Oss. *bēraγ*, Tag. *bīraγ*. Av. *varətata* 'surrounding,' Phl. *vaštanŏ*, *gaštanŏ*, New Pers. *gaštan*, Gab. *vāštmūn*, Sarq. *γirsam*, Kurd. *gariyān*. Av. *vərəzyeiti* 'does,' Phl. *varz* 'agriculture,' New Pers. *barz*, Judaeo-Pers. *varz*, Kurd. *gūrān*. Av. *vīsaiti* 'twenty,' Phl. *vīst*, New Pers. *bīst*, Kāš. *vīstā*, *vīs(sā)*, Wāxī *vīst*, Sarq. *vist*, Bal. *gīst*, Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaǰ*.

It is to be noted also that Old Pers. *vi* > Mid. Pers. **vu* > Pāz., New Pers. *gu*, and that Old Pers. **vṛ* > Mid. Pers. **vur* > Pāz., New Pers. *gur*.

v > *gh*, *γ*.

§ 368. The change of *v* to *gh*, *γ*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *varətata* 'surrounding,' Sarq. *γirsam*, etc. (see preceding §).

v > *gv*.

§ 369. The change of *v* to *gv* is regular initially before *a*-vowels in Balūcī.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāθ*, *gvās*, etc. (see § 364). Av. *vəhrka* 'wolf,' Bal. *gvark*, *gurk*, etc. (see § 367). Old Pers. *vasiy* 'much,' Phl. *vas*, New Pers. *bas*, Kāš. *vas*, Bal. *gvas*.

v > *n*.

§ 370. The change of *v* to *n* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *navanavati* 'ninety-nine,' Bihārī *ninānabē* (assimilation).

v > *ph*, *f*.

§ 371. The change of *v* to *ph*, *f*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *ava* 'this,' Pāz. *ō*, New Pers. *av*, *ō*, Kurd. *af*, *ava*, *āv*.

v > *b*.

§ 372. The change of *v* to *b* is extremely common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects (cf. the converse change of *b* to *v*, § 308).

a. Indian. Skt. *suvṛṣṭi* 'abundance of rain,' Pāli *subbuṭṭhi*. Skt. *vaṣpa* 'tear, vapor,' Prāk. *bapp(h)a* 'smoke,' *bāha* 'tear,' Śāur. Prāk., Pāli *bappa*, Ass. *bhāp*, Kaśm. *bāha*, U̱r., Bang. *bhāp*, E. Hindī *bā(ṁ)ph*, Hindī *bā(ṁ)ph*, *bhāph*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhī *bāph*, Guj. *bā(ṁ)ph*, Mar. *vāph*. Skt. *vēṣṭa* 'enclosure,' Pāli *vēṭhaka*, Ass. *bēr*, Nāip. *bār*, Kaśm. *vār*, *vāḍ*, U̱r. *bēḍhā*, *bhēḍā*, Bang. *bēḍā*, Hindī, Panj. *bēḍhā*, Sindhī *vaḍēhō*, Mult. *vēṛhā*, Mar. *vēḍhā*. Skt. *puravāsin* 'citizen,' Bihārī *purabāsī*. Skt. *vṛddha* 'large,' Prāk. *vaddha*, *viddha*, *vuddha*, Pāli *buḍḍha*, *vaddha*, *viddha*, *vuḍḍha*, Ass. *bar*, Nāip. *barō*, Kaśm. *bor*, *boḍ*, U̱r., Bang. *baḍa*, E. Hindī *baṛā*, *barā*, *baddā*, Hindī *baḍā*, Panj. *vaḍḍā*, W. Panj. *baḍḍā*, Sindhī *vaḍ̄ō*, Guj. *vaḍ̄ō*, Gyp. *baro*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *virala* 'thin,' Siṁh. *burul*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Phl. *vēt*, New Pers. *bēd*, Gab. *vīd*, Kāš. *vīd*, *vēt*, Afγ. *vala*, N. Bal. *gēθ*, Kurd. *bī*, *vī*. Av. *vīsaiti* 'twenty,' New Pers. *bīst*, etc. (see § 367). Av. *vāta* 'wind,' New Pers. *bād*, Kurd. *bā*, *vai*, etc. (see § 364). Av. *vāra* 'rain,' Phl. *vārān*, New Pers. *bārān*, Gab. *bavāra*, Kāš. *vōrūn*, Māz. *vāriš*, Wāxī *vūr*, Sarq. *varaiǰ*, *varaša*, Afγ. *varyaǰ*, *varyaz*, Kurd. *bārī(n)*, Lurī, Zaza *varān*, Dig. Oss. *vārun*, Tag. *varin*. Av. *vana* 'tree,' Phl. *van*, New Pers. *bun*, Afγ. *vana*, Bal. *gvan*, *gōn*, Dig. Oss. *bun*, Tag. *bin*. Av. *hūsravah* 'having fair fame,' Phl. *hūsrōb*, New Pers. *xusrav*.

v > *bh*.

§ 373. The change of *v* to *bh* is quite common in the Indian dialects, being the sound considered in the preceding paragraph further influenced by a neighbouring sibilant, aspirate or *h*.

a. Indian. Skt. *vaṣpa* 'tear, vapor,' Ass. *bhāp*, Uṛ., Bang., *bhāp*, Hindī *bhāph*, *bā(ṁ)ph*, Panj. *bhāph*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vēṣṭa* 'enclosure,' Uṛ. *bhēḍā*, *bēḍhā*, etc. (see preceding §).

v > *m*.

§ 374. The change of *v* to *m* is not common in the Indian dialects, while in the Iranian dialects it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *yāvat* 'how long,' *tāvat* 'so long,' Apab. Prāk. *jāma*, *jāüm*, *jāmahiṁ*, *tāma*, *tāüm*, *tāmahiṁ*, Pāli *yāva*, *tāva*. Skt. *vāiśravaṇa* nom. prop., Jāina Prāk. *vēsamaṇa*. Skt. *vijñaptika* 'request,' Bang. *minati*, E. Hindī *mintī*, Hindī *minnat*, *bintī*, Panj. *minnat*, Sindhī *minti*. Skt. *nava* 'nine,' Prāk. *ṇava*, Pāli *nava*, Kaśm. *nāu(ṁ)*, Uṛ. *naa*, Bang. *nay*, Bihārī, Hindī *nāu*, Panj. *nāuṁ*, *naüṁ*, Sindhī *naṁvaṁ*, Guj., Mar. *nav*, Siṁh. *nama*, *nava*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pairi* 'around' + √*varəz* 'do,' New Pers. *parvāz* 'plough,' Bux. *parmāz*. Skt. *vartikā* 'partridge,' Phl. *varṭak*, New Pers. *vardij*, Wāxī *volc*, Afγ. *maṛaz*, *nvaṛaz*, Bal. *gvardāg*, Kurd. *vardī*.

v > *y*.

§ 375. The apparent change of *v* to *y* is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects (cf. the following §).

a. Indian. Skt. *pravartati* 'proceeds,' Prāk. *payaṭṭaï*. Skt. *divā* 'by day,' Jāina Prāk. *diyā*. Skt. *dāva* 'forest,' Pāli *dāya*. Skt. *dēvara* 'brother-in-law,' Prāk. *dēara*, *diara*, *dēvara*, Uṛ. *dēyara*, *dēyura*, Bang. *dēyar*, Hindī, Panj. *dēvar*, Sindhī *ḍēru*, Guj. *dēr*, *dēur*, Mar. *dēvar*, *dīr*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *juṭanŏ* 'gnaw,' New Pers. *jāvīdan*, Afγ. *žōyal*, *žōval*, Bal. *jāyag*, N. Bal. *jāγ*, Kurd. *jū(i)n*.

Syncope of v.

376. Syncope of *v* is not common in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jīva* 'life,' Prāk. *jīa*, Pāli *jīva*. Skt. *divasa*

'day,' Prāk. *divaha*, *diaha*, Jāina Prāk., Pāli *divasa*, Sindhī *ḍīṁhu*, Mar. *divas*, Siṁh. *davas*, *divas*. Skt. *trayōviṁśati* 'twenty-three,' Prāk. *tēvīsa*, Pāli *tēvīsa(ti)*, Bihārī *tēis*, and similarly the other New Ind. dialects, excepting Sindhī *ṭrēvīli*, Guj. *trēvīś*, Mar. *tēvīs*. Skt. *upaviṣṭa* 'seated,' Prāk. *ubaviṭṭha*, *uvaiṭṭha*, Pāli *upaviṭṭha*, Hindī, Panj. *bāiṭh*, Guj. *bēś*, Mar. *bēṭhō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *gǎv* 'cow,' Phl., New Pers. *gāv*, *gō*, Zaf., Kāš., Vōn. *gō*, Kuhr. *gōb*, Wāxī *γau*, *γū*, Šiγn. *šāv*, Sarq. *šao*, Sangl., Minj. *γao*, Yaγn. *gova*, Afγ. *γvā*, Bal. *gōk*, N. Bal. *gōx*, Kurd. *gā*, Dig. Oss. *γog*, Tag. *qūg*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Sīv. *yu*, Kāš. *ya*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, Mukrī *yō*, etc. (see § 365). Av. *vīsaiti* 'twenty,' Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaǰ*, etc. (see § 367). Av. *baēvarə* 'ten thousand,' Phl., New Pers. *bēvar*, Dig. Oss. *bēura*, *bēra*, Tag. *bīra*.

Prothesis of v.

§ 377. Prothetic *v* occurs occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ucyatē* 'is said,' Prāk. *vuccaï*, Śaur., Māg. Prāk. *vuccadi*, Pāli *vuccati*. Skt. *ukta* 'said,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Girnar) *vuta*. Skt. *uṣita* 'inhabited' beside *vasita*, Pāli *vuttha*, *vusita*.

b. Iranian. Av. *aēsm* 'I,' Old Pers. *adam*, Tāl. *az*, Wāxī, Šiγn. *vuz*, Sarq. *vaz*, Yidg. *ƶuh*, Afγ. *ƶa*, Kurd., Oss. *az*. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Phl. *(h)ašt*, New Pers. *hašt*, Wāxī *hāθ*, Šiγn. *vašt*, Sarq. *voxt*, Rōš. *hašt*, Sangl. *hāṭ*, Minj. *aška*, Yaγn. *uxs*, Afγ. *ata*, Oss. *asth*. Gk. *ὠόν* 'egg,' Lat. *ovum*, Phl. *xāyak*, New Pers. *xāyah*, Gab. *vuk*, Afγ. *hā*, Bal. *haik*, Kurd. *haʾik*, *hī*, *hēk*, Oss. *aikh(a)*.

Epenthesis of v.

§ 378. Epenthetic *v* is of rare occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt. *chāya* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chāhā*, *chāyā*, Pāli *chāyā*, Ur. *chāhīna*, Hindī *chāṁv*, *chāṁ(h)*, *chāōṁ*, Panj. *cā(ū)m*, Sindhī *chāṁv*, *chāṁ*, Guj. *cāṁy*.

ăvă > *ā*.

§ 379. The loss of Indo-Iranian *v*, which has been noted in § 376, gives rise to various contractions in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. The contraction of *ăvă* to *ā* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *prabhavāmi* 'am able,' Prāk. *pabhavaï*, Pāli *pabhavāmi*, Gāthā *prabhāmi*. Skt. *sambhavanti* 'are able,' Prāk. *sambhavaï*, Pāli *sambhavati*, Gāthā *sambhānti*.

b. Iranian. Av. *srāvayeiti* 'chants,' Phl. *srāyaṯ*, New Pers. *srāyad*, Wāxī *širavam*, Sarq. *našravam*. Av. *bavāṯ* 'may be,' New Pers. *bād*.

ava > *ŭ*.

§ 380. The contraction of *ava* to *ŭ* occurs both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *lavana* 'salt,' Prāk., Pāli *lōṇa*, Kaśm., U̯r. Bang. *nūn*, *lōṇ*, Bihārī *lōn*, *nōn*, Hindī *nūn*, *lūn*, *nōn*, Panj. *nūṇ*, Sindhī *lūṇu*, Guj. *lūṇ*, Mar. *lōṇā*, Gyp. *lon*. Skt. *avajñā* 'contempt,' Pāli *uññā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *avasthita* 'firm,' New Pers. *ustām*, *ōstām*.

ava > *ē*.

§ 381. The contraction of *ava* to *ē* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *avalambati* 'hangs down,' E̯lu *elabanavā*, Siṁh. *ellanavā*, *elvān*, *olaṁbu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *navani* 'nine,' Old Pers. *navama*, Pāz., New Pers. *nuh*, Kāš. *muhdō*, Tāt *nūf*, Wāxī, Šiγn. *nao*, Sarq. *nav*, Sangl., Minj. *nao*, Yaγn. *nau*, Kurd. *nēh*.

ava > *ō*.

§ 382. The contraction of *ava* to *ō* is the normal one to which *ava* is subject both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *lavana* 'salt,' Prāk., Pāli *lōṇa*, Kaśm., U̯r., Bang. *lōṇ*, *nūn*, Bihārī *nōn*, *lōn*, Hindī *nōn*, *lūn*, *nūn*, Panj. *nūṇ*,

Sindhī *lūṇu*, Guj. *lūṇ*, Mar. *lōṇā*. Skt. *bhavati* 'becomes,' Prāk. *hōi*, Śaur. Prāk. *(b)hōdi*, *(b)huvadi*, *(b)havadi*, Māg. Prāk. *(b)havaï*, *huvaï*, Apab. Prāk. *hōdi*, Paiś. Prāk. *bhōti*, Pāli *bhavati*, *hōti*, Gāthā *bhōti*, New Ind. dialects *hō*, excepting Uṛ. *hē*, Sindhī *hua*, Skt. *samavasṛṣṭa* 'assembled,' Jāina Prāk. *samōsaḍha*, Pāli *samōsaṭa*. Skt. *avăra* 'lower,' Pāli *ōra*. Skt. *avavāda* 'counsel,' Pāli *ōvāda*, Siṁh. *ovā*. Skt. *avaśyāya* 'hoar-frost,' Bang. *ōṣ*, Hindī, Panj., Guj. *ōs*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *pravatā* 'downwards,' Phl. *frōṯ*, New Pers. *furōd*, Sarq. *prōd*. Av. *nava* 'new,' Phl. *nōk*, *navak*, Pāz., New Pers. *nō*, Bal. *nōk*, N. Bal. *nōx*, Tag. Oss. *nvog*, etc. (see § 364). Av. *avaδa* 'there,' Old Pers. *avadā*, Bal. *ōdā*, N. Bal. *ōδā*, Tag. Oss. *vad*. Av. *navaiti* 'ninety,' Phl. *navaṯ*, New Pers. *navad*, Afγ. *navē*, Kurd. *nōt*, *nŭd*.

ăva > *au*.

§ 383. The contraction of *ăva* to *au* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhavala* 'white,' Apab. Prāk. *dhavalu*, Uṛ., Bang. *dhalā*, Hindī *dhāulā*, Sindhī *dhāuṁrō*, Guj. *dhōḷuṁ*, Mar. *dhavā*, *dhavaḷ*. Skt. *avatāra* 'descent,' Pāli *ōtāra*, *avatāra*, Sindhī *āutāru*, *avatār*.

b. Iranian. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Sarq. *yaugj*, Yaγn. *yau*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, Oss. *yau*, etc. (see § 365). Av. *syāva* 'black,' Phl. *siyāk*, *siyāh*, New Pers. *siyāh*, Wāxī *šū*, Sangl. *šōi*, Oss. *sau*.

avi > *ē*.

§ 384. The contraction of *avi* to *ē* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaviṣyē* 'I shall be,' Gāthā *bhēṣyē*. Skt. *sthavira* 'monk,' Prāk. *thēra*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *thāira*, Pāli *thēra*, Mar. *thēr(aḍā)*.

avi > *āi*.

§ 385. The contraction of *avi* to *āi* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthavira* 'monk,' Prāk. *thāira* (inscriptions of Girnar), *thēra*, etc. (see preceding §).

āva > *ō*.

§ 386. The contraction of *āva* to *ō* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *ƶavarə* 'might,' Phl. *gōr(īh)*, New Pers. *ƶōr*.

āvay > *ē*, *ai*.

§ 387. The contraction of *āvay* to *ē*, *ai*, is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *kāvaya* 'royal,' Phl. *kē*, *kai*, Pāz., New Pers. *kai*.

āvi > *ā*.

§ 388. The contraction of *āvi* to *ā* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *āviṣkṛta* 'manifest,' Phl. *āškārāk*, New Pers. *āškār(ā)*, *āškārah*, Afy. *xkāra*.

ivā > *ō*.

§ 389. The contraction of *ivā* to *ō* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prativāsin* 'neighbour,' New Indian dialects *parōsī*, *paḍōsī*, *paṛōsī*.

ivē > *ō*.

§ 390. The contraction of *ivē* to *ō* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prativēṣayati* 'distributes,' Bihārī *parōsāi*.

īva > *ī*.

§ 391. The contraction of *īva* to *ī* is quite frequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *jvaiti* 'lives,' Old Pers. *jīvāhy*, Phl. *ƶīvastanŏ*, New Pers. *ƶīstan*, Kurd. *ƶīn*, *ǰiin*. Phl. *dipīvar* 'scribe,' *dipīr(īh)*, New Pers. *dibīr*.

ēvă > *ī*.

§ 392. The contraction of *ēvă* to *ī* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dēvara* 'brother-in-law,' Mar. *dīr*, *dēvar*, etc. (see § 375).

b. Iranian. New Pers. *dēvānah* 'bedevilled,' Kurd. *dīn*.

uva > *ā*.

§ 393. The contraction of *uva* to *ā* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *yvan* 'youth,' Phl. *yuwān*, New Pers. *juvān-mard*, Kurd. *jānmardi*.

uva > *ū*, *ō*.

§ 394. The contraction of *uva* to *ū*, *ō*, is the normal one to which *uva* is subject.

b. Iranian. Iran. **vadhuvakā* 'bride,' New Pers. *bayō(g)*, Kurd. *būk*. Av. *drvatāt* 'health,' Phl. *drūd*, Pāz. *durūd*, New Pers. *durōd*.

ś = *ś*.

§ 395. Indian *ś* is retained but seldom in the Indian dialects. In the Middle Indian dialects the Māgadhī, Ardhamāgadhī, Avantikā, and Śākārī alone preserve *ś*. Of the New Indian dialects Gujarātī and Marāṭhī often retain *ś*, although great confusion in the use of *ś* and *s* prevails. Hindī and Sindhī indeed write *ś*, but pronounce the *ś* as *s*, while in Bangālī *ś* is pronounced *ṣ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śata* 'hundred,' Prāk. *sa(y)a*, Pāiś. Prāk. *sata*, Māg. Prāk. *śada*, Pāli *sata*, Ass. *sa*, Kaśm. *hat*, Ur. *śaē*, Bang. *śaya*, Hindī, Panj. *sāi*, *sāu*, Sindhī *sāu*, Guj. *śō*, Mar. *śēṁ*, *śaṁbhar*, Guj. *ṣel*. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Prāk. *sīsa*, *sissa*, Pāli *sīsa*, Hindī, Panj. *sīs*, Sindhī *sisī*, Guj. *śīś*, Mar. *śi(ṁ)s*, Eḷu *hisa*, Siṁh. *isa*, *iha*. Skt. *aśīti* 'eighty,' Prāk. *asīi*, Pāli *asīti*, Ass. *ṣīt*, Kaśm. *śīth*, Ur. *aśī*, Bang. *āśī*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *assī*, Sindhī *asī*, Guj. *ēṁsī*, Mar. *ēṁśī*. Skt. *dēśīya* 'native,' Pāli *dēsīya*, Ur., Bang. *dēśī(ya)*, Hindī, Panj. *dēsī*, Sindhī *ḍēsī*, *ḍēhārī*, Guj., Mar. *dēśī*.

ś > *ch*.

§ 396. The change of *ś* to *ch* occurs quite frequently in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāvaka* 'young animal,' Prāk. *chāvaa*, Pāli *chāpa*, Ur. *ch(u)ā*, Bang. *chā(ṁ)*, Hindī *chōkaḍā*, Panj. *chōkaḍā*, *chōharā*, Sindhī *chōkaḍō*, Guj. *chāvō*, *chōkarō*, Mar. *chāvaḍā*, Gyp.

chavō. Skt. *śakṛt* 'once,' Pāli *chakam*. Skt. *śēṣa* 'end,' Prāk., Pāli *sēsa*, Guj. *chēvaṭ*, *chēḍō*, *chellō*. Skt. *śaṇa* 'hemp,' Uṛ. *chaṇa*, Bang. *chana*.

ś > *ḍ*.

§ 397. The change of *ś* to *ḍ* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāka* 'pot-herb,' Pāli *ḍāka*, *sāka*, Kaśm. *hāk* (cf. Skt. *ḍākinī* 'sort of female demon' beside *śākinī*).

ś > *y*.

§ 398. The change of *ś* to *y* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dvādaśanavārṣa* 'twelfth year,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *barayavaṣa*, (Dhauli, Jaugada) *duvādasavāsa*, (Girnar) *dvādasavasa*, (Khālsi) *duvāḍasāvasa*.

ś > *v*.

§ 399. The change of *ś* to *v* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *paraśu* 'axe,' Māhār. Prāk. *parasu*, Siṁh. *porava*, Maladive *furō*. [Really syncope of *ś* (cf. § 402).]

ś > *s*.

§ 400. The change of *ś* to *s* is the regular one to which Indian *ś* is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects with the exception of the dialects already noted in § 395.

a. Indian. Skt. *śōbhati* 'is beautiful,' Prāk. *sōhaï*, Paiś. Prāk. *sōbhati*, Pāli *sobbhati*. Skt. *śuśruṣā* 'obedience,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Shāhbāzgarhi and Kapur di Giri) *suśruṣā*, Pāli *sussusā*. Skt. *śata* 'hundred,' Prāk. *sa(y)a*, Paiś. Prāk., Pāli *sata*, Ass. *sa*, Hindī, Panj. *sāi*, *sāu*, Sindhī *sāu*, etc. (see § 395). Skt. *aśīti* 'eighty,' Prāk. *asīi*, Pāli *asīti*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *assī*, Sindhī *asī*, Guj. *eṁsī*, etc. (see § 395). Skt. *śilā* 'stone,' Prāk. *silā*, Māg. Prāk. *śilā*, Pāli *silā*, Uṛ. *śiḷa*, Bang. *śil*, Hindī *sil*, Panj. *siḷ*, Sindhī *sir*, Mar. *siḷ*.

ś > *h*.

§ 401. The change of *ś* to *h* is quite common in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *daśa* 'ten,' Prāk. *daha, dasa*, Pāli *dasa*, Kaśm. *dah*, U̱r., Bang. *daś, das*, Hindī *das*, Panj. *dah, das*, Sindhī *dah*, Guj. *das*, Mar. *dahā*, Siṁh. *dahaya, dasa*, Gyp. *deṣ*. Skt. *śvaśura* 'father-in-law,' Pāli *sasura*, U̱r., Bang., Hindī *sasur*, Panj. *sahurā, sāuharā*, Sindhī *sahurō*, Guj., Mar. *sāsarā*, Maladive *hurs*, Gyp. *saṣtrō, sasrō*. Skt. *paśu* 'cattle,' Hindī (Doab, Oude) *pōhē*. Skt. *kēśarī* 'lion,' Prāk., Pāli *kēsarī*, Bihārī *kĕharī, kĕsarī*, Hindī *kēharī*, Panj. *kēhar*, Sindhī *kēharī*, Guj. *kēsarī*. Skt. *pāśa* 'noose,' Prāk., Pāli *pāsa*, Hindī *pās, phāṁs*, Panj. *pāh*, Sindhī *phāhī, phāsī*, Guj. *pās*. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' E̱lu *hisa*, etc. (see § 395).

Apocope and syncope of ś.

§ 402. The loss of an initial or internal Indian *ś* occurs frequently in the Siṁhalese.

a. Indian. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Siṁh. *isa, iha*, etc. (see § 395). Skt. *śṛṅga* 'horn,' Prāk., Pāli *siṁga*, Hindī *sīṁg*, Mar. *śiṁg*, E̱lu *samgu, aṁgu*, Siṁh. *aṁga, si(ṁ)gu, suṁgu*. Skt. *śiśira* 'cold,' Prāk., Pāli *sisira*, Siṁh. *ăl, hăl*. Skt. *laśuna* 'onion,' Pāli *lasuna*, Siṁh. *lūnu*.

ṣ = ṣ.

§ 403. The retention of Indian *ṣ* is found only in Kaśmīrī, U̱riya, and Bangālī.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣōḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *sōḷaha*, Pāli *sōḷasa, sōrasa*, Kaśm. *ṣurāh*. U̱r. *sōhaḷa*, Bang. *ṣōla*, Bihārī *sōrah*, Hindī *sōlah*, Panj. *sōlāṁ*, Sindhī *sōrahaṁ*, Guj. *sōḷ*, Mar. *sōḷā*, Siṁh. *soḷosa*. Skt. *mūṣa* 'mouse,' U̱r. *mūṣā*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *mūsā*, Gyp. *muṣō*.

ṣ > kh.

§ 404. In Hindī and Panjābī, as well as in other New Indian dialects in sporadic instances, Indian *ṣ* is pronounced *kh*, even if *ṣ* be retained in script.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāṣā* 'vernacular,' Prāk., Pāli *bhāsā*, Nāip.

bhās, *bhākkā*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *bhākhā*. Skt. *mānuṣa* 'man,' Prāk., Pāli *mānusa*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *mānukh*, Sindhī *mānukhu*, Gyp. *manuṣ*.

In the tadbhava forms of these semitatsamas we find, as we should expect, *bhāsā*, *mānus*, etc.

ṣ > *ch*.

§ 405. The change of *ṣ* to *ch* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṣ* 'six,' Prāk., Pāli *cha*, Kaśm. *ṣah*, *śih*, Uṛ. *chaa*, Bang. *chaya*, Bihārī *cha*, Hindī *cha*, *chē*, Panj. *chē*, Sindhī *cha*(*h*), Guj. *cha*, Mar. *sah*(*ā*), Old Siṁh. *caka*, Siṁh. *haya*, *saya*, Gyp. *ṣo*(*v*). Skt. *ṣaṭpada* 'bee,' Prāk. *chappaa*, Jāina Prāk. *chappaya*.

ṣ > *y*.

§ 406. The apparent change of *ṣ* to *y* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *karīṣa* 'dry cow-dung,' Prāk., Pāli *karīsa*, Siṁh. *kiriya* (cf. § 422).

ṣ > *ś*.

§ 407. The change of *ṣ* to *ś* occurs only in Middle Indian, where it is due to learned influence.

a. Indian. Skt. *anvēṣanti* 'they seek,' Māg. Prāk. *aṇṇēśanti*. Skt. *ālabhiṣyanti* 'they will be immolated,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *arabhiśaṁti* (cf. the parallel passages *ārabhiśaṁrē* Girnar, *ālābhāyisaṁti* Dhauli, *ālabhiyisaṁti* Jaugada, *ālābhiyisaṁti* Khālsi).

ṣ > *s*.

§ 408. The change of *ṣ* to *s* is the normal one to which Indian *ṣ* is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣōḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *sōḷaha*, Pāli *sōḷasa*, *sōrasa*, Uṛ. *sōhaḷa*, Bihārī *sōrah*, Hindī *sōlah*, Panj. *sōlāṁ*, Sindhī *sōrahaṁ*, Guj. *sōḷ*, Mar. *sōḷā*, Siṁh. *soḷosa*, etc. (see § 403). Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Prāk. *saṇḍha*, Ass. *sāṁr*, Bang. *ṣaṁr*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sāṁṛ*, Panj. *sāṁḍh*, Sindhī *sānu*, Mult. *sāṁh*, *saṇḍhā*, Guj., Mar. *sāṁḍ*. Skt. *vṛṣabha* 'bull,' Prāk. *vasaha*,

usaha, Pāli *vasabha*. Skt. *puruṣa* 'man,' Prāk., Pāli *purisa*, Bang. *puruṣ*, Hindī *puriṣ*, semitatsama *purukh*.

ṣ > *h*.

§ 409. The change of *ṣ* to *h* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēkaṣaṣṭi* 'sixty-one,' Jāina Prāk. *ēgahaṭṭhi*, *ēgasaṭṭhi*, *ēgayaṭṭhi*, *ēgavaṭṭhi*, *ēgaṭṭhi*, Kaśm. *ekahāiṭh*, Panj. *ikāhaṭ*, Sindhī *ēkahaṭhi*. Skt. *viṣa* 'poison,' Prāk., Pāli *visa*, Panj. *bih*, *bis*, Sindhī *vihu*.

s = *s*.

§ 410. Indo-Iranian *s* is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indian dialects, while in the Iranian dialects Indo-Iranian *s* normally becomes *h*. Iranian *s*, arising from Indo-Germanic *k̂* (Old Indian *ś*, see also §§ 395–402), remains unchanged in most cases in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptan* 'seven,' Prāk., Pāli *satta*, Kaśm. *sath*, Ur., Bang. *sāta* (pron. *ṣatŏ*), Bihārī, Hindī *sāt*, Panj. *satt*, Sindhī *sat*, Guj., Mar. *sāt*. Skt. *siṁha* 'lion,' Prāk. *sīha*, Māhār. Prāk. *siṁgha*, *siṁha*, Pāli *sīha*, Hindī, Panj. *siṁgh*, Sindhī *siṁghō*, *śiṁhu*, other New Ind. dialects *siṁh*. Skt. *karpāsa* 'cotton,' Prāk., Pāli *kappāsa*, Ur. *kapā*, Bang. *kāpās*, Hindī *kapās*, Panj., Sindhī *kapāh*, Guj., Mar. *kāpūs*. Skt., Pāli *atasī* 'linseed,' Ur. *tēsī*, Bang. *tiśī*, E. Hindī *tīsī*.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarah* 'head,' Phl., New Pers. *sar*, Wāxī, Sangl., Minj. *sar*, Afy., Bal., Kurd., Oss. *sar*. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Phl. *sarṭ*, New Pers. *sard*, Gab. *sart*, Wāxī *sūr(ī)*, Sarq. *patsoram*, Afy. *sōr*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sārth*, Kurd. *sār*, Tag. Oss. *sald*. Av. *kasu* 'small,' Phl. *kas*, Pāz. *kah*, New Pers. *kih*, Gab. *kasūk*, Zaf., Kāš. *kas*, Vōn. *kassar*, Nāy. *kas*, Afy. *kašr*, Bal. *kas(s)ān*, Oss. *khasthar*. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum*, New Pers. *dah*, Wāxī *ðas*, *las*, Šiγn. *ðīs*, *līs*, Sarq. *ðēs*, Sangl. *das*, Yidg. *lus*, Yaγn. *das*, Afy. *las*, Kurd. *dav*, Zaza *das*, Oss. *das(am)*. Av. *paēsa* 'leprosy,' Old Pers. *πισάγας*, Phl. *pēsak*, New Pers. *pēs*, Gab. *pīsk*, Afy. *pēs(ai)*, Kurd. *pis(aj)*.

s > *ch*.

§ 411. The change of *s* to *ch* is a very rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *sudhā* 'ambrosia,' Prāk. *chuhā*, Pāli *sudhā*. Skt. *sirā* 'vein,' Prāk. *chirā*, *sirā*, Pāli *sirā*. Skt. *sūtradhāra* 'carpenter,' U̱r., Bang. *chutār* (pron. *sutār*). Skt. *siñcati* 'sprinkles,' Prāk. *siṁcaï*, Pāli *siñcati*, Bihārī *chīṁcāi*, *siṁcāi*, Mar. *siṁcaṇēṁ*.

s > *j*(*h*).

§ 412. The change of *s* to *j*(*h*) is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *haṁsa* 'goose,' Prāk., Pāli *haṁsa*, Hindī *hãṁs*, Sindhī *haṁj*(*h*)*u*, Siṁh. *has*.

s > *t*.

§ 413. The change of *s* to *t* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *saxᵛārə* 'word,' Phl. *saxun*, New Pers. *suxun*, Sīv. *tuxun*, Kāš. *suxan*. Gr. κόρος 'satiety,' New Pers. *sēr*, Kurd. *tēr* (Justi, Kurd. Gramm. 64, compares also the Av. ἅπ. λεγ. *θātairi*, Yt. x, 14).

s > *th*, *θ*.

§ 414. The change of *s* to *th*, *θ*, occurs frequently only in Old Persian.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Old Pers. *θuxra*, Phl. *suxr*, New Pers. *surx*, Wāxī *sökr*, Afγ. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, *sohr*, Kurd. *sōr*, Dig. Oss. *surx*, Tag. *sirx*. Gr. κόρος 'satiety,' Av. *θātairi*, etc. (? see preceding §).

s > *d*.

§ 415. The change of *s* to *d* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sahasra* 'thousand,' Prāk., Pāli *sahassa*, Kaśm. *sās*, Bihārī *sahasar*, Sindhī *sahasu*, Siṁh. *dahasia*, *das*, *dāha* (*d* for *s* by false analogy with Siṁh. *dahaya* 'ten,' Skt. *daśan*, etc.).

s > *v*.

§ 416. The change of *s* to *v* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Kurd. *dav*, etc. (see § 410).

s > *ś*.

§ 417. The change of *s* to *ś* is very rare. In East Hindī *ś* is often written for *s*, although *s* is retained in pronunciation. This lax writing is very frequent in Gujarātī and in Marāṭhī most of all (cf. §§ 395, 400). The change of *s* to *ś* is regular in Māgadhī, Ardhamāgadhī, and Śākārī Prākrit, and the Avantikā Prākrit also shows numerous examples of this development.

a. Indian. Skt. *vilāsa* 'coquetry,' Māg. Prāk. *vilāśē*, Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *vilāsa*. Skt. *sabhika* 'keeper of a gambling-house,' Māg. Prāk. *śahia*. Skt. *anuśāsana* 'instruction,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *anuśaśaṇa*, Māhār. Prāk. *aṇusāsaṇa*, Pāli *anusāsana*.

s > *ṣ*.

§ 418. The change of *s* to *ṣ*, apart from the regular development in Old Indian of *ṣ* from *s* after *ĭ*, *ŭ*, *ṛ*, *ē*, *ō*, is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *uyanaṣi* 'in a garden,' beside *uyānaṣi* (inscriptions of Dhauli, Jaugada, Khālsi). Skt. *bhaviṣyāsi* 'thou wilt be,' Gāthā *bhēṣyaṣi*.

s > *š*.

§ 419. The change of Iranian *s* to *š* is not frequent.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śāṇa* 'whetstone,' New Pers. *sān*, *afsān*, dialectic *šān*, Wāxī, Sarq. *pasān*. Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Phl. *sūcan*, Pāz. *sūzan*, *sōzan*, New Pers. *sōzan*, Gab. *sajan*, Zaf. *sōzō*, Wāxī *sič*, Sarq. *sīč*, Bal. *sūcīn*, *sīcīn*, N. Bal. *sīšin*, *šīšan*, *šīšīn*, Kurd. *šūžin*, *sužin*. Skt. *śakṛt* 'excrement,' Afγ. *γō-šāk*, *γō-šōē*, N. Bal. *saγan*. Av. *suši* 'lung,' Phl. *suš*, New Pers. *šuš*, Gab. *sus*, Afγ. *saγai*.

s > *ś*.

§ 420. The change of *s* to *ś* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūirya* 'breakfast,' Phl. *sūr*, New Pers. *surnai* 'trumpet,' Tāt *śurnai*. Av. *pasu* 'cattle,' Pāz. *pah*, Tāt *paz*, Wāxī *pus*, *pos*, Sarq. *p(i)ās*, Afγ. *psa*, Bal. *pas*, N. Bal. *phas*, Kurd. *paz*, Dig. Oss. *fuss*, Tag. *fiss*. Av. *xᵛasura* 'father-in-law,' New Pers. *xušur*, Wāxī *xurs*, Afγ. *szar*, N. Bal. *vasarik*, Kurd. *xaśūr*, *xaśīr*, *xaur*.

s > *h*.

§ 421. The change of Indian *s* to *h*, which is very similar to the Iranian *h* developed from Indo-Germanic *s*, where the Old Indian retains *s*, occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects. The change is regular in South-Eastern Bangālī (e. g. Bang. *sakal* 'all,' S.-E. Bang. *hakal*), and it occurs very frequently in Panjābī, Sindhī, and Siṁhalese. Iranian *s* becomes *h* only internally in Middle and New Persian.

a. Indian. Skt. *divasa* 'day,' Prāk. *divaha*, *diaha*, Śaur., Jāina Prāk., Pāli *divasa*, Mar. *divas*, Siṁh. *davaha*, *davasa*, Gyp. *divēs*. Skt. *ēkasaptati* 'seventy-one,' Kaśm. *akasatath*, Ur. *ēkastōri*, Bang. *ēkāttar*, Bihārī *ēkahattar*, Hindī *ikahattar*, Panj. *ikhattar*, Sindhī *ēkahatari*, Guj. *ikōtēr*, Mar. *ēkahattar*, cf. Jāina Prāk. *hattari* 'seventy,' Siṁh. *hāttāva*, *sāttāva*. Skt. *karpāsa* 'cotton,' Panj., Sindhī *kapāh*, etc. (see § 410). Skt. *sarpa* 'serpent,' Prāk., Pāli *sappa*, Ur., Bang. *sāpa*, Hindī *sāṁp*, Panj. *sapp*, Sindhī *sapu*, Guj., Mar. *sāp*, Siṁh. *hapu*, *sapu*, *sap(ā)*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kasu* 'small,' Pāz. *kah*, New Pers. *kih*, etc. (see § 410). Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum*, New Pers. *dah*, etc. (see § 410). Av. *pasu* 'cattle,' Pāz. *pah*, etc. (see preceding §).

Aphaeresis and syncope of s.

§ 422. The loss of initial or internal *s* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sīdati* 'sits,' Prāk. *sīaï*, *saḍai*, Pāli *sīdati*, Siṁh. *iṁdīnavā*, *hiṁdinavā*. Skt. *prasāda* 'favour,' Māhār. Prāk. *pasāya*, Pāli *pasāda*, Siṁh. *pāya*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xᵛasura* 'father-in-law,' Kurd. *xaur*, *xaεūr*, *xaεīr*, etc. (see § 420).

š = *š*.

§ 423. Iranian *š* remains in general unchanged in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaiti* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šudan*, Bahb. *sud*, Wāxī *cauam*, Šiγn. *sāvum*, Sarq. *sōm*, Afγ. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šuδā*, *šuθa*, Kurd. *cīan*, *cūn*, Oss. *čaun*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Old Pers. *gauša*, Phl., New Pers. *gōš*, Šīr., Bahb. *guš*, Nāy. *gūš*, Wāxī *γūš*, *γiš*, Šiγn., *γūš*, Sarq. *γaul*, Yidg. *γū*, Afγ. *γvaš*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*. Av. *raēšah* 'wound,' Phl., New Pers. *rēš*, Afγ. *raš*.

š > *c*, *č*.

§ 424. The change of *š* to *c*, *č*, is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaiti* 'goes,' Wāxī *cauam*, Kurd. *cīan*, *cūn*, Oss. *čaun*, etc. (see preceding §).

š > *j*.

§ 425. The change of *š* to *j* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *baēšaza* 'physician,' Phl. *bējašk*, *bijašk*, *bēšaεak*, New Pers. *bijišk*, *biεišk*.

š > *l*.

§ 426. The change of *š* to *l* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Sarq. *γaul*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Phl. *spiš*, *spuš*, New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *šupuš*, Wāxī *šiš*, Sarq. *spal*, Afγ. *spaša*, Kurd. *sipi*, *aspē*, Oss. *sisth*.

š > *s*.

§ 427. The change of *š* to *s* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaiti* 'goes,' Bahb. *sud*, Šiγn. *sāvum*, Sarq. *sōm*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *suši* 'lung,' Phl. *suš*, New Pers. *šuš*, Gab. *sus*, Afγ. *saγai*. New Pers. *šūr* 'salt,' Slv. *sūr*, Bal. *sūrag*, N. Bal. *šōraγ*, *sōr*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*.

š > *s*.

§ 428. The change of *š* to *s* occurs very seldom.

b. Iranian. Phl. *šekam* 'belly,' New Pers. *šikam*, *iškam*, Kurd. *sik*. Av. *xšvaš* 'six,' Phl. *šaš(um)*, New Pers. *šaš*, Wāxī *šāð*, *šāl*, Šiyn. *xauš*, Afγ. *špaž*, Oss. *axsaz*.

š > *ś*.

§ 429. The change of *š* to *ś* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Šiyn. *γūś*, Afγ. *γvaś*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *arəša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Māz. *āś*, Šiyn. *yūrś*, Sarq. *yürx*, Yidg. *yarś*, Afγ. *yaś*, Kurd. *hirś*, *hirc*, *virc*, Oss. *ars*. Av. *kušaiti* 'kills,' Phl. *kuštanð*, New Pers. *kuštan*, Kurd. *bukuśim*.

š > *h*.

§ 430. The change of *š* to *h* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Phl. *rēš(ak)* 'beard,' New Pers. *rīš(ah)*, Citrālī *rixiš*, *rikiš*, Wāxī *rēyiš*, Minj. *yarža*, Afγ. *źīra*, Kurd. *rēh*, *ri*, Dig. Oss. *rēxē*, Tag. *rīxī*.

Apocope of š.

§ 431. The loss of final *š* occurs occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Yidg. *γū*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Kurd. *sipi*, *aspē*, etc. (see § 426).

z = *z*.

§ 432. Iranian *z* remains in general unchanged in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *zānu* 'knee,' Phl. *zānūk*, New Pers. *zānū*, Wāxī *zān*, Sarq. *zūn*, Sangl. *zong*, Afγ. *zangūn*, *čangūn*, Bal. *zān*, Kurd. *zāna*, *ažnōh*. Av. *zərəδaya* 'heart,' Phl., New Pers. *dil*, Māz. *zīlah*, Gīl. *zīl*, Šiyn. *zrāð*, *zrāy*, Sarq. *zārd*, Sangl. *uzrāy*, Minj. *zīl*, Afγ. *zṛa*, Bal. *zirdē*, Kurd. *zar*, Oss. *zarda*. Av. *maēzənti* 'they make water,' Phl. *mēzīṭanð*, New Pers. *mēzī-*

dan, Afγ. *mītal*, Bal. *mīšaγ*, *mēzaγ*, Kurd. *mīztin*, *mīstin*, Dig. Oss. *mēzun*, Tag. *mīzin*. New Pers. *pōz* 'part about the nose,' Gab. *pūz*, Sangl. *fuzik*, Minj. *foska*, Afγ. *pōza*, *paza*, Bal. *pō(ñ)z*, N. Bal. *phōñz*, Kurd. *pōz*, *pūz*, Dig. Oss. *finǰa*, Tag. *fing*.

z > *ǰ*.

§ 433. The change of *z* to *ǰ* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *zanva* 'chin,' New Pers. *zanax*, Šiγn. *zingū*, Sarq. *zangān*, Afγ. *ǰana*, *zana*. Afγ. *ǰōē* 'son' beside *zōē* (from √*zan* 'to be born').

z > *s*.

§ 434. The change of *z* to *s* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dərəza* 'bond,' New Pers. *darz*, Oss. *daras* 'garment.'

z, *ź* > *š*.

§ 435. The change of *z*, *ź* to *š* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *kāzah* 'hunter's hut,' beside *kāšah*, *kašah*.

z > *ź*.

§ 436. The change of *z* to *ź* is found occasionally.

b. Iranian. Av. *zimō* 'of winter,' Phl., New Pers. *zam*, Wāxī *zam*, Šiγn. *zimj*, *zinj*, Sarq. *zamān*, Afγ. *źimai*, *zimai*, *ǰimai*, Dig. Oss. *zumag*, Tag. *zimag*.

z > *h*.

§ 437. The change of *z* to *h* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bāzu* 'arm,' Phl. *bāzīh*, *bāzak*, New Pers. *bāzū*, Gab. *bāī*, Kāš. *bōï*, *bōhī*, *bōhū*, Sīv. *bāī*, Xor. *bāhū*, Judaeo-Pers. *bāhūi*.

Syncope of z.

§ 438. The loss of internal *z* occurs very rarely in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *bāzu* 'arm,' Gab. *bāī*, Kāš. *bōï*, *bōhī*, *bōhū*, Sīv. *bāī*, etc. (see preceding §).

ǰ = *ǰ*.

§ 439. Iranian *ǰ* is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *dužah* 'hell,' Phl. *dōšax*, Pāz. *dōžax*, New Pers. *dōzax*, Afγ. *dōžax*, *dōzax*, *dōγaš*, Bal. *dōzak*, *dōzē*, N. Bal. *dōzax*, *dōžē*, Kurd. *dūžē*. Av. *dužaka* 'leech,' Phl. *žūžak*, New Pers. *žūžah*, Gab. *jujīk*.

ǰ > *γ*.

§ 440. The change of *ǰ* to *γ* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dužah* 'hell,' Afγ. *dōγaš*, *dōžax*, *dōzax*, etc. (see preceding §).

ǰ > *j*.

§ 441. The change of *ǰ* to *j* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dužaka* 'leech,' Gab. *jujīk*, etc. (see § 439).

ǰ > *š*.

§ 442. The change of *ǰ* to *š* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dužah* 'hell,' Phl. *dōšax*, etc. (see § 439—properly speaking, no change of *ǰ* to *š* occurs here, since Pahlavi possesses no sign for *ǰ*, and employs the character for *š* instead).

ǰ > *z*.

§ 443. The change of *ǰ* to *z* is the most common one of all those changes to which Iranian *ǰ* is subject in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *dužah* 'hell,' New Pers. *dōzax*, Afγ. *dōzax*, *dōžax*, *dōγaš*, Bal. *dōzak*, *dōzē*, N. Bal. *dōzax*, *dōžē*, etc. (see § 439).

h = *h*.

§ 444. Indian *h* is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indian dialects, and Iranian *h* (corresponding to Indian *s*) is, in like manner, retained in most cases in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Prāk., Pāli *hattha*, Ass. *hāt(h)*, Kaśm. *ath*, Uṛ. *hāt(h)a*, Bang. *hāt*, Bihārī, Hindī *hāth*, Panj. *hatth*, Sindhī *hathu*, Guj. *hāth*, Mar. *hāt*, Siṁh. *ata*. Skt. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hia(y)a*, Pāli *hadaya*, Ass., Uṛ., Bihārī *hiă*, Hindī *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyāṁ*, *hiaũṁ*, Sindhī *hiṁaṁu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēṁ*. Skt. *mahārgha* 'costly,' Pāli *mahaggha*, Ass. *mahaṁgā*, *magar*, Nāip. *mahaṁgō*, E. Hindī, Hindī *mahaṁgā*, Panj. *mahiṁgā*, Sindhī *mahaṁgō*, Guj. *mōṁghuṁ*, Mar. *mahāg*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *lōha* 'iron,' Uṛ. *lōha*, *luhā*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *lōhā*, Guj., Mar. *lōh*, Sindhī *lōhu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *haēna* 'army,' Old Pers. *hainā*, Phl., Pāz. *hīn*. Av., Old Pers. *hama* 'all,' Phl. *hamak*, Pāz. *hamā*, New Pers. *hamah*, Bal. *hama(k)*, Kurd. *hamū*. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Phl., New Pers. *haft*, Wāxī *hūb*, *hub*, *ub*, *vūvd*, Šiγn. *vuvd*, Sarq. *ūvd*, Sangl. *haft*, Minj. *ēð*, Yaγn. *av*, Afγ. *ōva*, *ava*, Dig. Oss. *aft*, Tag. *aft*, *avd*. Old Pers. *θura-vāhara* 'May,' Phl. *vahār*, New Pers. *bahār*, Kāš. *bohōr*, *vōr*, Oss. *valǰag*.

h > *k*.

§ 445. The change of *h* to *k* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *hintāla* 'kind of palm,' Pāli *kintāla*, Siṁh. *kitul*, *hitul*.

h > *kh*, *x*.

§ 446. The change of *h* to *kh*, *x*, is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects, where it occurs more usually initially than internally or finally.

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Phl. *xušk(īh)*, New Pers. *xušk*, Sīv. *fušk*, Kāš. *huškudan*, *uškudan*, Wāxī *vask*, Yidg. *ūšk*, Afγ. *vuc*, Bal. *hušk*, Kurd. *vūšuk*, Oss. *xusk*. Av. *hū* 'pig,' Phl., New Pers. *xūk*, Wāxī *xūg*, Sarq. *xaug*, Afγ. *xūg*, Bal. *hīk*, N. Bal. *hīx*, Kurd. *xū*, Oss. *xui*. Av. *haētu* 'bridge,' Sarq. *yaiθ*, Yaγn. *ītk*, Dig. Oss. *xēd*, Tag. *xīd*. Av. *dušah* 'hell,' Phl. *dōšax*, Pāz. *dōžax*, New Pers. *dōzax*, Afγ. *dōžax*, *dōzax*, *dōγaš*, Bal. *dōzak*, *dōzē*, N. Bal. *dōzax*, *dōžē*, Kurd. *dūžē*.

h > *c*.

§ 447. The change of *h* to *c* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *hamcū* 'as,' Sīv. *camcah* (assimilation).

h > *ph*, *f*.

§ 448. The change of *h* to *ph*, *f*, is very rare, and it seems to occur only initially.

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Sīv. *fušk*, etc. (see § 446).

h > *bh*.

§ 449. The change of *h* to *bh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vāihāra* nom. prop., Jāina Prāk., Pāli *vēbhāra*.

h > *v*.

§ 450. The change of *h* to *v* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Wāxī *vūvd*, (*h*)*ub*, *hūb*, Šiγn. *vuvd*, etc. (see § 444). Av. *huška* 'dry,' Wāxī *vask*, Afγ. *vuc*, Kurd. *vūšuk*, etc. (see § 446).

h > *y*, *i*.

§ 451. The vocalization of *h* to *y*, *i*, occurs but seldom.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *māh* 'month,' Phl., New Pers. *māh*, Wāxī *mūi*, Šiγn. *mast*, Sarq. *mās*, Minj. *yomγa*, Afγ. *maī*, Dig. Oss. *maya*, Tag. *mai*.

h > *s*.

§ 452. The change of *h* to *s* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *snāihika* 'oily,' Pāli *snēsika* (but Pāli *s*(*i*)*nēha* 'love,' Skt. *snēha*).

h > *š*.

§ 453. The change of *h* to *š* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Phl. *namāc*, Pāz. *namāš*, New Pers. *namāz*, Afγ. *nmūnǰ*, Bal. *namāš*, *navāš*, Kurd. *nimīš*, *nimī*.

h > *ź*, *ǩ*.

§ 454. The change of *h* to *ź*, *ǩ*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Pāz. *namāǩ*, New Pers. *namāz*, Kurd. *nimīǩ*, *nimī*, etc. (see preceding §).

Aphaeresis of h.

§ 455. The loss of initial *h* is excessively rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, the phenomenon is not infrequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Kaśm. *ath*, Siṁh. *ata*, etc. (see § 444).

b. Iranian. Av. *hanjamana* 'assembly,' Phl. *anjaman*, *hanjaman*, New Pers. *anjuman*. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Wāxī *ub*, *hub*, *hüb*, *vūvd*, Sarq. *ūvd*, Minj. *ēδ*, Yaγn. *av*, Afγ. *ōva*, *ava*, Dig. Oss. *aft*, Tag. *aft*, *avd*, etc. (see § 444). Av. *huška* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Kāš. *uškudan*, *huškudan*, Yidg. *ūšk*, etc. (see § 446). Av. *haca* 'from,' Old Pers. *hacā*, Phl. *aj*, New Pers. *az*, *ź*(*i*), Afγ. *ǰ*-, Bal. *ac*, *aš*, Kurd. *až*, *ž*(*a*).

Syncope of h.

§ 456. The loss of internal *h* is very rare in the Indian dialects, although it is more frequent in the New than in the Middle period. The phenomenon occurs more often in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ihalōka* 'this world,' Prāk. (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions) *ialōka*. Skt. *bṛhaspati* nom. prop., Prāk. *bahapphaī*, *bhayapphaī*, *bihapphaī*, *buhapphaī*, *buhappaī*, *bahassaī*, *bahappaī*, *bhaassaī*, *bhuapphaī*, *buhaspaḍī*, Uṛ. *biphāi* 'Thursday,' Bihārī *biphāi*, *bihaphāi*. Skt. *gēhiṇī* 'woman,' Prāk. *ghariṇī*, Siṁh. *gāṇi*, *girini*. Skt. *vrīhi* 'rice,' Pāli *vīhi*, Siṁh. *vī*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vohuni* 'blood,' Phl., New Pers. *xūn*, Sīv. *fin*, Wāxī *vuxan*, Šiγn. *vixīn*, Sarq. *vaxīn*, Sangl. *vain*, Afγ. *vīnē*, Kurd. *xēn*. Phl. *dahišn* 'gift,' New Pers., Gab. *dāšn*. Old Pers. *θura-vāhara* 'May,' Kāš. *vōr*, *bohōr*, etc. (see § 444).

Apocope of h.

§ 457. The loss of final *h* occurs but rarely.

b. Iranian. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Kurd. *nimī*, *nimīž*, etc. (see § 453).

Prothesis of h.

§ 458. Prothetic *h* is not uncommon in the Middle Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In the New Indian dialects it occurs but rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *idānim* 'now,' Prāk. (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions) *hidalōkika*, lit. Prāk. *dāṇi(ṁ)*. Skt. *ēdṛśa* 'of that kind,' Prāk. *ērisa*, (inscriptions of Khālsi) *hēḍisa*. Skt. *atra* 'there,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Khālsi) *hētă*, Bang. *hōthā*, *ōthā*. Skt. *ōṣṭha* 'lip,' Prāk., Pāli *oṭṭha*, Uṛ. *ōṭha*, Bang. *hō(ṁ)ṭh*, Hindī *ōṁṭh*, Panj. *hōṁṭh*, Guj. *hōṭ*, *ōṭh*, Mar. *ōṁṭh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *aēθrapaiti* 'fire-priest,' Phl. inscriptions *ēhrpaṯ*, lit. Phl. *hērpaṯ*, *ērpaṯ*, New Pers. *hērbud*. Av. *aošah* 'death,' Phl., New Pers. *hōš*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *as(p)a*, Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Tāt *ās*, Wāxī *yaš*, Minj. *yasap*, Afγ. *ās*, Bal. *haps*, *aps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *afsa*, Tag. *yafs*.

Epenthesis of h.

§ 459. Epenthetic *h* is extremely rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *māna* 'measure,' Uṛ. *mahana*, Hindī *man*, Mar. *maṇ*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jyā* 'bow-string,' Pāz. *jīk*, New Pers. *sih*, Kāš. *yah*, *ša*, Afγ. *šaī*, N. Bal. *jīγ*, Kurd. *žih*.

CONSONANT-GROUPS

§ 460. In the sections dealing with vowels and single consonants, similarity of development, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, has been the rule rather than the exception. In the following paragraphs differences will be found more often than resemblances. Comparatively few consonant-groups have developed in the same way in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. The Indian languages have continued the tendency already observable in the Middle Indian. The component sounds of consonant-groups are assimilated, and the resulting repeated consonant is either retained, or one of the letters is dropped with compensatory lengthening of a preceding short vowel. In the Iranian languages, on the other hand, a consonant-group is in the majority of instances softened as a whole, and this secondary consonant-group may be retained without further change in the New Iranian dialects. As a result of these developments with principles which are radically different, consonant-groups in Iranian are less easy to systematize than those in the Indian languages. For the Indian dialects the classification of Beames, *Comparative Grammar*, i. 281–282 (cf. 359–360), into the 'strong, weak, and mixed nexus' is admirable. But since in the Iranian dialects the consonant-group is softened and retained instead of being simplified, such secondary consonant-groups are subject to many tertiary developments. Moreover, it will be seen in many instances noted in the following paragraphs that the component consonants of a consonant-group, in the Middle and New Iranian dialects, may each be modified according to the changes to which they are liable as single consonants.

The essential difference in the treatment of consonant-groups in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects renders the discussion in

the present chapter less satisfactory in results, in some respects, than has been the case with the consideration of the vowels and single consonants. On the other hand, it will not be without interest to note how two closely-related members of the same language-group agree in general in certain parts of their phonology, but at the same time are radically different in other portions of it. Notwithstanding this, the divergent developments of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian languages are no less instructive than their coincident changes, and a survey of disagreement as well as of agreement is absolutely necessary if a correct knowledge of the entire subject under discussion is to be gained.

kt > *k*(*k*).

§ 461. The assimilation of *kt* to *k*(*k*) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *utkaṇṭhā* 'anxiety,' Prāk. *ukkaṇṭhā*, Pāli *ukkaṇṭhati* 'regrets.' Skt. *mukta* 'released,' Prāk. *mukka*, Pāli *mukka*, *mutta*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śakta* 'able,' Phl., New Pers. *saxt*, Yidg. *sukt*, Bal. *sak*.

kt > *gd*, *γd*.

§ 462. The softening of the consonant-group *kt* to *gd*, *γd*, is not common.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nakta* 'night,' Wāxī *naγd*. Skt. *takta* 'swift,' Oss. *thaγd*.

ktz > *γz*, *zγ*.

§ 463. The assimilation of *ktz* to *γz*, *zγ*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxta* 'burned' + *zaranya* 'gold,' Dig. Oss. *suγzarina*, Tag. *sizγarin*.

kt > *t*(*t*).

§ 464. The assimilation of *kt* to *t*(*t*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhakta* 'boiled rice,' Prāk., Pāli *bhatta*, Kaśm. *bata*, Ur., Bang., E. Hindī, W. Hindī *bhāt*, Panj. *bhatt*,

Sindhī *bhatu*, Guj., Mar. *bhāt*. Skt. *mukta* 'pearl,' Prāk., Pāli *mutta*, Uṛ. *mōti*, Bang. *mōti*, *mati*, *māuktikā*, *muktā*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī, Guj. *mōtī*. Skt. *rakta* 'red,' Prāk., Pāli *ratta*, Uṛ., Bang. *rakta*, Hindī *rāt*, Sindhī *rātō*, Guj. *rātu*, Siṁh. *rat*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *puxtanŏ* 'to cook,' New Pers. *puxtan*, Kāš. *patan*, *pōtan*, Wāxī *pöcam*, Afγ. *paxavul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phašaγ*, Kurd. *pātin*, Dig. Oss. *ficun*, Tag. *ficin*. Phl. *sōxtanŏ* 'to burn,' New Pers. *sōxtan*, Māg. *sūt*, Gīl. *sūt*, *sūxt*, Tāl. *sūt*, Afγ. *sēẓal*, *sējal*, *svaǰavul*, Bal. *sucag*, N. Bal. *sušaγ*, Kurd. *sōtin*, Bohtanī *suhtin*, Dig. Oss. *sōǰun*, Tag. *sōǰin*.

kt > *pht*, *ft*.

§ 465. The assimilation of *kt* to *pht*, *ft*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *yuxta* 'joined,' Phl. *juxt* 'pair,' New Pers. *juft*, Afγ. *juxt*, Kurd. *cuxt*. New Pers. *anjūftan* 'to be wrinkled' beside *anjūxtan*.

kt > *ht*.

§ 466. The assimilation of *kt* to *ht* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *pakta* 'cooked,' New Pers. *puxtah*, Wāxī *pöšt*, Šiγn. *pašt*, Sarq. *paxt*, Bal. *pakta*, N. Bal. *pahta*, Dig. Oss. *funx(th)*, Tag. *fixth*. Phl. *sōxtanŏ* 'to burn,' Bohtanī *suhtin*, etc. (see § 464).

ktr > *lkh*, *lx*.

§ 467. The assimilation of *ktr* to *lkh*, *lx*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *bāxtri* nom. prop., Phl. *baxr*, New Pers. *balx*.

ktr > *hr*.

§ 468. The assimilation of *ktr* to *hr* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *baxδra* 'portion,' Phl., New Pers. *bahr*, *barx*.

kth > (*t*)*th*.

§ 469. The assimilation of *kth* to (*t*)*th* is not common.

a. Indian. Skt. *siktha* 'beeswax,' Prāk., Pāli *sittha*, Hindī *sīth*, *sīṭh*, Panj. *sēṭh*, *sēṭ*, Mar. *sīt*. Skt. *śakthi* 'thigh,' Pāli *satthi*.

kn > *nn*.

§ 470. The assimilation of *kn* to *nn* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *śaknōti* 'is able,' Prāk. *sakkaï*, Pāli *sakkati*, *sakkōti*, *sakkunāti*, Hindī *sak*, Sindhī *sagh*, Guj., Mar. *śak*.

km > *m*(*m*).

§ 471. The assimilation of *km* to *m*(*m*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *rukmavatī* 'sort of metre,' Pāli *rummavatī*.

b. Iranian. Av. **staxma* 'firm' (cf. Av. *staxra*), Phl. *sitahmak*, New Pers. *sitam* 'violence.' Av. *taoxman* 'seed,' Old Pers. *taumā*, Phl. *tōxm*, New Pers. *tuxm*, Gab. *tūm*, Nāy. *tum*, Wāxī *taγm*, Šiγn. *tūγm*, Sarq. *töγm*, Yidg. *tūγum*, Afγ. *tōma*, Bal. *tūm*, *tōm*.

km > *gm*, *γm*.

§ 472. The softening of the consonant-group *km* to *gm*, *γm*, is not frequent.

b. Iranian. Av. *taoxmān* 'seed,' Wāxī *taγm*, Šiγn. *tūγm*, Sarq. *töγm*, Yidg. *tūγum*, etc. (see preceding §).

km > *p*(*p*).

§ 473. The assimilation of *km* to *p*(*p*) is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rukminī* 'Lakṣmī,' Prāk. *ruppiṇī*.

ky > *k*(*k*).

§ 474. The assimilation of *ky* to *k*(*k*) occurs occasionally.

a. Indian. Skt. *cāṇakya* nom. prop., Prāk. *cāṇakka*. Skt. *āutsukya* 'zeal,' Pāli *ussukka*. Skt. *trāilōkya* 'the three worlds,' Prāk. *tellokka*, *tēlokka*.

kr > *k*(*k*).

§ 475. The assimilation of *kr* to *k*(*k*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *cakra* 'wheel,' Prāk., Pāli *cakka*, Ass. *cāk*, Ur. *caka*, Bang. *cākā*, E. Hindī, Hindī *cāk*, Panj. *cakh*, Sindhī *caku*, Guj., Mar. *cāk*, Siṁh. *sak*, *hak*. Skt. *ājñācakra* 'mystic circle of the body,' Siṁh. inscriptions *aṇasak*, *aṇasat*.

kr > *r*(*r*).

§ 476. The assimilation of *kr* to *r*(*r*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Phl. *suxr*, New Pers. *surx*, Sīv. *sīr*, Kāš., Kuhr. *sür*, Wāxī *sökr*, Šiyn., Sarq. *sīrah*, Yidg. *surkuh*, Afγ. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, *sohr*, Kurd. *sōr*, Dig. Oss. *surx*, Tag. *sirx*.

kr > *hr*.

§ 477. The assimilation of *kr* to *hr* is not common.

b. Iranian. Av. *caxra* 'wheel,' New Pers. *carx*, *cahrah*, Kāš. *cōra*, *cīr*, Oss. *čalx*. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Bal. *suhr*, *sohr*, etc. (see preceding §).

kl > *l*(*l*).

§ 478. The assimilation of *kl* to *l*(*l*) is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kliṣṭa* 'sick,' Prāk., Pāli *kiliṭṭha*, Siṁh. *leḍa*.

kv > *k*(*k*).

§ 479. The assimilation of *kv* to *k*(*k*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Pāli *pakka*, Ass. *pakā*, Nāip. *pāk*, Kaśm. *papi*, Ur. *pakkā*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindī *pākal*, Hindī, Panj. *pakkā*, Sindhī *pakō*, Guj. √*pik*, *pak* 'to ripen,' Mar. *pīk*, *pikā*, Gyp. *pako*.

kṣ > *k*(*k*).

§ 480. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *k*(*k*) is excessively rare in the Iranian dialects as well as in the Indian dialects, excepting Bangālī, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *bubhukṣā* 'hunger,' Pāli *bubhukkhati*, Hindī

bhūkh, Sindhī *bukhā*, Mar. *bhuk*, Gyp. *bokh*. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Prāk. *khīra*, *chīra*, Pāli *khīra*, Kaf. *zu*, New Ind. dialects *khīr*, Siṁh. *kiri*, *kira*, Maladive *kiru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maxši* 'fly,' Phl., New Pers. *magas*, Sīv., Judaeo-Pers. *magaz*, Wāxī *maks*, Minj. *muγa*, Afγ. *mac*, Bal. *makask*, *magisk*, N. Bal. *mahisk*, Kurd. *miš*.

kṣ > *kkh*.

§ 481. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *kkh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *makṣikā* 'fly,' Prāk. *macchiā*, Pāli *makkhikā*, Kaśm. *mach* (pron. *mas*), Uṛ. *mā(ṁ)chī* (vulgar pron. *mā(ṁ)sī*), Bang. *māchī*, E. Hindī *mā(ṁ)chī*, Hindī *makkhī*, *mā(ṁ)khī*, Panj. *makkhī*, Sindhī *makhi*, Guj. *mākhī*, Mar. *maklū*, *māśī*, Gyp. *makhī*. Skt. *dakṣiṇa* 'southern,' Prāk. *dakkhiṇa*, *dāhiṇa*, Pāli *dakkhiṇa*, Kaśm. *dachan*, Uṛ. *dāhinā*, *ḍāhāna*, Bang. *ḍāin*, E. Hindī *dachin*, Hindī *dakhin*, *dāhinā*, Panj. *dakkhan*, Sindhī *ḍakhiṇō*, Mar. *ḍākhīṇ*. Skt. *pakṣa* 'wing,' Prāk., Pāli *pakkha*, Kaśm. *pakh(a)*, E. Bang. *pāhī*, Bang. *pākhī*, Bihārī *paṁkh* 'wing,' *pāhīṁ* 'beside,' *paṁchī* 'bird,' Hindī *pākhī*, *pāṁchī*, Panj. *pāṁchī*, Sindhī *paṁgu*, Guj. *pāṁchī*, Mar. *pākh*, *pāṁchī*, Siṁh. *pak*, *pasa*, Gyp. *phak*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xšap(an)* 'night,' New Pers. *šab*, Kāš. *šav*, Šiγn. *šab*, Sarq. *xab*, Minj. *xšava*, *xašava*, Yidg. *xšuvuh*, Yaγn. *xišap*, Afγ. *špa*, Bal. *šap*, Kurd. *šav*, Oss. *axsav*.

kṣ > *khs*, *xs*.

§ 482. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *khs*, *xs*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xšap(an)* 'night,' Oss. *axsav*, etc. (see preceding §).

kṣ > *g(g)*.

§ 483. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *g(g)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *maxši* 'fly,' Phl., New Pers. *magas*, Sīv., Judaeo-Pers. *magaz*, Bal. *magisk*, *makask*, etc. (see § 480).

kṣ > *c*(*c*).

§ 484. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *c*(*c*) is excessively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣudra* 'small,' Prāk. *khuḍḍa*, Pāli *khudda*, U̱r. *khuḍatā*, Bang. *khuḍā*, Old Siṁh. *cuḍi*, Siṁh. *kuḍa*, *kudu*.

b. Iranian. Av. **xšapacara* 'bat,' Bal. *šapcar*, Makrānī *capcal* (assimilation).

kṣ > (*c*)*ch*.

§ 485. The assimilation of *kṣ* to (*c*)*ch* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṛkṣa* 'bear,' Prāk. *riccha*, *rikkha*, Pāli *accha*, *ikka*, *is*(*s*)*a*, U̱r. *richa*, Bihārī *rīch*, *rīkh*, Hindī *rīch*, Panj. *ricch*, Sindhī *richu*, Guj. *rīch*, Mar. *rīs*. Skt. *makṣikā* 'fly,' Prāk. *macchiā*, Kaśm. *mach* (pron. *mas*), U̱r. *mā*(*ṁ*)*chī* (vulgar pron. *mā*(*ṁ*)*sī*), Bang. *māchī*, E. Hindī *mā*(*ṁ*)*chī*, etc. (see § 481). Skt. *kṣētra* 'field,' Prāk. *chetta*, Pāli *khetta*, Kaśm. *khīt*. Skt. *kṣatriya* 'warrior,' Prāk. *khattia*, Pāli *khattiya*, U̱r. *chetrī*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *chatrī*, *khatrī*, *khetrī*, Sindhī *khitrī*, Mar. *kṣatrī*.

kṣ > *j*, (*j*)*jh*.

§ 486. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *j*, (*j*)*jh*, is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣīṇa* 'wasted,' Prāk. *jhīṇa*, *khīṇa*, *chīṇa*, Pāli *khīna*, *khinna*, Ass. *jīn* 'decay,' Hindī *jhīn*, *cchīn*, Sindhī *jhīnō*, Gyp. *khinō*. Skt. *kṣīyate* 'wastes away,' Prāk. *jhijjaï*, Mar. *jhij*. Skt. *kṣāmā* 'earth,' Hindī *jhāmā* 'vitrified brick.'

kṣ > *s*(*s*).

§ 487. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *s*(*s*) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Prāk., Pāli *ucchu*, U̱r. *ākhu*, Bang. *āku*, E. Hindī *ūkh*, W. Hindī *īkh*, Mar. *ūs*. Skt. *ṛkṣa* 'bear,' Mar. *rīs*, etc. (see § 485). Skt. *makṣikā* 'fly,' Kaśm. *mach* (pron. *mas*), U̱r. *mā*(*ṁ*)*chī* (vulgar pron. *mā*(*ṁ*)*sī*), etc. (see § 481). Skt. *pakṣa* 'wing,' Siṁh. *pasa*, *pak*, etc. (see § 481).

Skt. *kṣaṇa* 'instant,' Prāk. *khaṇa*, *chaṇa* 'feast,' New Ind. dialects *khaṇ*, excepting Hindī *khan*, *chan*, *chin*, Siṁh. *süṇa*, *san(d)a*, inscriptions *sändä*.

kṣ > *š*(*š*).

§ 488. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *š*(*š*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian languages.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *xšāyaθiya* 'king,' Pāz., New Pers. *šāh*. Av. *xšīra* 'milk,' Phl., New Pers. *šīr*, Minj. *xšīr*, Dig. Oss. *axšir*, Tag. *axsir*. Av. *xšap(an)* 'night,' New Pers. *šab*, Kāš. *šav*, Šiγn. *šab*, Afγ. *špa*, Bal. *šap*, Kurd. *šav*, etc. (see § 481).

kṣ > *h*(*h*).

§ 489. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *h*(*h*) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāikṣa* 'novice,' Jāina Prāk. *sēha*, Pāli *sekkha*, *sēkha*. Skt. *pakṣa* 'wing,' E. Bang. *pāhī*, Bihārī *pāhīṁ* 'beside,' *paṁchī* 'bird,' *paṁkh* 'wing,' etc. (see § 481). Skt. *dakṣiṇa* 'southern,' Prāk. *dāhiṇa*, *dakkhiṇa*, Uṛ. *dāhinā*, *ḍāhāna*, Hindī *dāhinā*, *dakhin*, etc. (see § 481).

kṣ > *s*(*s*).

§ 490. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *s*(*s*) is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Kaf. *su*, etc. (see § 480).

Aphaeresis of kṣ.

§ 491. The loss of initial *kṣ* is a very rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣāra* 'potash,' Prāk. *chāra*, Pāli *khāra*, *chārika*, New Ind. dialects *khār*, excepting Sindhī *chāru*, Siṁh. *aḷu*, *haḷu*, Maladive *hulu*.

kṣn > *ṇ*, *n*.

§ 492. The assimilation of *kṣn* to *ṇ*, *n*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoxšna* 'shining,' Phl., New Pers. *rōšan*, Šiγn. *rōšnaga*, Sangl. *rōšnai*, Afγ. *rūṇ*, Bal. *rōšanī*, Kurd. *rōn*, *rūn*, *ruhnāi*, *rūnā(h)i*.

kṣn > *šn*.

§ 493. The assimilation of *kṣn* to *šn* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoxšna* 'shining,' Šiγn. *rōšnaga*, Sangl. *rōšnai*, etc. (see preceding §).

kṣn > *hn*.

§ 494. The assimilation of *kṣn* to *hn* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoxšna* 'shining,' Kurd. *ruhnāi*, *rūnā(h)i*, *rōn*, *rūn*, etc. (see § 492).

gdh > *t*(*t*).

§ 495. The assimilation of *gdh* to *t*(*t*) is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dugdha* 'milk,' Prāk., Pāli *duddha*, Nāip. *dūt*, Kaśm. *dod*, Ur. *dudha*, Bang. *dudh*, *dud*(*u*), Bihārī, Hindī *dūdh*, Panj. *dudd*, Sindhī *ḍōdhi*, Guj., Mar. *dūdh*, Gyp. *thud*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dogdhum* 'to milk,' Phl. *dōxtanŏ*, New Pers. *dōxtan*, Wāxī *bögnam*, Sarq. *bauɛam*, Afγ. *lvašal*, Bal. *dōšaγ*, Kurd. *dōtin*, Bayazid *dōthin*, Dig. Oss. *doču̯n*, Tag. *dūčin*.

gdh > *d*(*d*).

§ 496. The assimilation of *gdh* to *d*(*d*) is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dugdha* 'milk,' Kaśm. *dod*, Bang. *dud*(*u*), *dudh*, Panj. *dudd*, Gyp. *thud*, etc. (see preceding §).

gdh > *ddh*.

§ 497. The assimilation of *gdh* to *ddh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dugdha* 'milk,' Prāk., Pāli *duddha*, Ur. *dudha*, Bang. *dudh*, *dud*(*u*), Bihārī, Hindī *dūdh*, Sindhī *ḍōdhi*, Guj., Mar. *dūdh*, etc. (see § 495). Skt. *mugdha* 'fool,' Prāk., Pāli *muddha*.

gn > *g*(*g*), *γ*.

§ 498. The assimilation of *gn* to *g*(*g*), *γ*, is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects, but it is excessively rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *agni* 'fire,' Prāk. *aggi*, *aggiṇi*, *giṇi*, Uṛ. *ṇia*, Bang. *āgun*, Hindī *āg*, Panj. *agg*, Sindhī *āgi*, Guj., Mar. *āg*, Siṁh. *gini*, Gyp. *yag*. Skt. *nagna* 'naked,' Prāk., Pāli *nagga*, Uṛ. *naṁgalā*, Bang. *nēṁṭā*, Bihārī *naṁg*, Hindī, Panj. *naṁgā*, Sindhī *naṁgō*, Guj. *nāgum*, Mar. *naggā*, *naṁgā*, Gyp. *nangō* (cf. also Kaśm. *naɔrāv* 'to strip'). Skt. *lagna* 'attached,' Prāk., Pāli *lagga*, Hindī *lagā*, *lāg*, Panj. *lag*, other New Ind. dialects *lāg*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoγna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōγan*, *rōkan*, Pāz. *raogan*, New Pers. *rōγan*, Kāš. *ruγan*, *rō*, Wāxī *ruγūn*, *ruγn*, Sarq. *raun*, Sangl. *rōγ*, Kurd. *rūn*.

gn > *n*(*n*).

§ 499. The assimilation of *gn* to *n*(*n*) is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoγna* 'oil,' Sarq. *raun*, Kurd. *rūn*, etc. (see preceding §).

Syncope and apocope of gn.

§ 500. The loss of internal or final *gn* occurs with the utmost rarity.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoγna* 'oil,' Kāš. *rō*, *ruγan*, etc. (see § 498).

gm > *m*(*m*).

§ 501. The assimilation of *gm* to *m*(*m*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yugma* 'pair,' Prāk. *jumma*, *jugga*. Skt. *tigma* 'sharp,' Prāk. *timma*, *tigga*.

b. Iranian. GAv. *āgəmaṯ* 'assembled,' YAv. *frāγmaṯ*, Old Pers. *hagmatā*, Phl. *maṯanŏ*, New Pers. *āmudan*.

gy > *g*(*g*).

§ 502. The assimilation of *gy* to *g*(*g*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yōgya* 'suitable,' Prāk. *jogga*, Pāli *yogga*,

New Ind. dialects *jōg*. Skt. *lagyati* (Nirukta, iv. 10) 'is attached,' Prāk. *laggaï*, Pāli *laggati*, Kaśm. *√lăg*, Hindī *lag*, Panj. *lagg*, Sindhī *lāg*, other New Ind. dialects *lāg*.

gr > *g*(*g*).

§ 503. The assimilation of *gr* to *g*(*g*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *agra* 'front,' Prāk., Pāli *agga*, Ass. *āgē*, Nāip. *aghi*, Ur. *āgu*, Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *āgē*, Panj. *aggū*, Sindhī *aggō*, Gyp. *agor*, *angle*. Skt. *vyagra* 'crooked,' Prāk. *vagga*.

ghr > (*g*)*gh*.

§ 504. The assimilation of *ghr* to (*g*)*gh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śīghra* 'swift,' Prāk. *siggha*, Pāli *sīgha*, Bang. (Burdwānī) *śiggir*, Gyp. *sigō*. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindī *bāgh*, Sindhī *vāghu*, Mar. *vāgh*, Siṁh. *vag*.

ghr > *r*(*r*).

§ 505. The assimilation of *ghr* to *r*(*r*) is sometimes found.

b. Iranian. Av. *tiγri* 'arrow,' Old Pers. *tiγra*, Phl., New Pers., Bal. *tīr*, N. Bal. *thīr*, Kurd. *tīr*(*ik*).

ŋk > *ŋg*.

§ 506. The softening of *ŋk* to *ŋg* occurs not infrequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *paryaŋka* 'bed,' Prāk. *pallaṁka*, Śaur. Prāk. *paliaṁka*, Pāli *pallaŋka*, *pariyaŋka*, Ass. *pāleŋg*, Nāip. *palaŋg*, Ur. *palaṁk*, Bang. *pālāṁg*, *pālaṁk*, Bihārī *palaṁg*, *pālakī*, Hindī *palaṁg*, Panj. *palaṁgh*, Sindhī *palaŋgu*, Guj., Mar. *palaṁg*, Anglo-Ind. *palanquin*. Skt. *kaŋkaṇa* 'bracelet,' Prāk., Pāli *kaṁkaṇa*, Ass. *kaŋgan*, *kāŋkan*, Kaśm. *kaŋkāin*, *kaŋgum*, Ur., Bang. *kāṁgan*, E. Hindī *kaṁgan*, *kaṁkan*, *kāṁkan*, Hindī *kaṁgan*, *kaṁkan*, Panj. *kaṁgaṇ*, Sindhī *kaŋgaṇu*, Guj., Mar. *kaṁgaṇ*.

ɴkt > ṁt.

§ 507. The assimilation of *ɴkt* to *ṁt* occurs occasionally (cf. § 464).

a. Indian. Skt. *paɴkti* 'row,' Prāk., Pāli *paṁti*, Bihārī *pāṁti*.

ɴkh > k(h).

§ 508. The assimilation of *ɴkh* to *k(h)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śṛɴkhala* 'fetter,' Pāli *saṁkhala*, Ass. *sikali*, Nāip. *sikrī*, Uṛ. *śikuli*, Bang. *śikal, sikal*, E. Hindī *sī(ṁ)-kar, sik(k)ar*, Hindī *sīkaṛ, sikal, sikhar*, Panj. *saṁghar*, Sindhī *saɴgharō*, Guj. *sāṁghaḷ*, Mar. *sā(ṁ)khaḷ, sikrī*.

ɴkh > ɴgh, ṁgh.

§ 509. The softening of *ɴkh* to *ɴgh, ṁgh*, is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śṛɴkhala* 'fetter,' Panj. *saṁghar*, Sindhī *saɴgharō*, Guj. *saṁghaḷ*, etc. (see preceding §).

ɴg > g(g).

§ 510. The assimilation of *ɴg* to *g(g)* occurs but rarely in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *lāɴgala* 'plough,' Prāk. *laṁgala, ṇaṁgala*, Pāli *naṁgala*, Bang. *nāṁgal*, Bihārī *lāṁgal*, Mar. *nāṁgar*, Siṁh. *nagula, nagala*. Skt. *lāɴgūla* 'tail,' Prāk. *laṁgūla*, Siṁh. *nagal, nakuṭa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'toe,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angušt*, Sīv. *gus*, Kāš. *unguss, anguš(t)*, Māz. *angus*, Wāxī *yangl*, Šiɣn. *angašt*, Sarq. *ingaxt*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Afɣ. *gūta*, Tag. Oss. *angursth*.

ɴg > ɴgh.

§ 511. The aspirization of *ɴg* to *ɴgh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jaɴgala* 'desert,' Ass. *jaɴghal*, Sindhī *jhaɴgu* <**jaɴghu*, other New Ind. dialects *jaṁgal*, Old Hindī also *jaṁgar*, Anglo-Ind. *jungle*.

cch > *śc(h)*.

§ 512. The dissimilation of *cch* to *śc(h)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gaccha* 'go!' Māg. Prāk. *gaśca*. Skt. *pṛcchati* 'asks,' Māg. Prāk. *puścadi*. Skt. *ucchiṣṭa* 'remnant, Śāk. Prāk. *uśchiṭṭa*, Pāli *ucchiṭṭha*.

cy > *c(c)*.

§ 513. The assimilation of *cy* to *c(c)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *acyuta* 'firm,' Prāk. *accuda*, Pāli *accuta*. Skt. *cyavatē* 'goes,' Prāk. *cavaï*, Pāli *cavati*, Uṛ. *cuibā*, Bang. *cuān*, Hindī *cūnā*, Panj. *cōṇā*, Sindhī *cuhaṇu*, Mar. *cāvaṇēṁ*. Skt. *ucyatē* 'is said,' Māg. Prāk. *vuccadi*, Śāur. Prāk. *vuccaï*, Pāli *vuccati*.

cv > *c(c)*, *č(č)*.

§ 514. The assimilation of *cv* to *c(c)*, *č(č)*, is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *cvant* 'how many?' Phl., New Pers. *cand*, Wāxī *čum*, *čun*, Sarq. *čund*, Afγ. *čom(b)ra*, Bal. *cunt*.

jñ > *g(g)*.

§ 515. The assimilation of *jñ* to *g(g)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *yajña* 'sacrifice,' Prāk. *jaṇṇa*, Śāur. Prāk. *jaña*, Pāli *yañña*, Uṛ., Bang. *jāga*, Old Hindī *jajana*, *jaja*, *jagga*, *jagya*, Hindī *jāg*, Panj. *jagg*, Sindhī *jāgu*, Mar. *jāg*.

jñ > *gy*.

§ 516. The New Indian dialects, with the exception of Sindhī, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī, regularly pronounce *jñ* as *gy*, although Uṛiya and Bangālī retain *jñ* in script. In Gujarātī *jñ* is pronounced *jñ* or *dn*, and in Marāṭhī *jñ* is pronounced *dny*. Sindhī usually assimilates *jñ* to *jj*.

a. Indian. Skt. *jñāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *jāṇa*, *ṇāṇa*, Pāiś. Prāk. *ñāṇa*, Pāli *jāna*, Uṛ., Bang. *jñāna* (pron. *gyānŏ*), Hindī,

Panj. *gyān*, Sindhī *jāṇu*, Guj., Mar. *jāṇ*. Skt. *ājñā* 'command,' Prāk. *āṇā*, Pāli *aññā*, Hindī *āgyā*, Panj. *agiā*, Sindhī *āgyā*, Guj. *āgnyā*.

jñ > *j*(*j*).

§ 517. The assimilation of *jñ* to *j*(*j*) is not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jñāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *jāṇa*, *ṇāṇa*, Pāli *jāña*, Sindhī *jāṇu*, Guj., Mar. *jāṇ*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *sarvajña* 'omniscient,' Prāk. *savvajja*, *savvaṇṇu*, Śaur. Prāk. *savvañja*, Māhār. Prāk. *savvannu*, Pāiś. Prāk. *savvañña*.

jñ > *ñ*(*ñ*).

§ 518. The assimilation of *jñ* to *ñ*(*ñ*) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarvajña* 'omniscient,' Pāiś. Prāk. *savvañña*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vijñāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *viṇṇāna*, Pāli *viññāṇa*.

jñ > *ṇ*(*ṇ*).

§ 519. The assimilation of *jñ* to *ṇ*(*ṇ*) is found quite frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *vijñāna* 'knowledge, Prāk. *viṇṇāna*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *rājñī* 'queen,' Nāip., Hindī *rānī*, other New Ind. dialects *rāṇī*. Skt. *ājñācakra* 'mystic circle of the body,' Siṁh. inscriptions *aṇasak*, *aṇasat*.

jñ > *n*(*n*).

§ 520. The assimilation of *jñ* to *n*(*n*) occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarvajña* 'omniscient,' Māhār. Prāk. *savvannu*, etc. (see § 517). Skt. *jñāti* 'kinsman,' Pāli *ñāti*, Siṁh. *nā*.

jy > *j*(*j*).

§ 521. The assimilation of *jy* to *j*(*j*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājya* 'kingdom,' Pāli *rajja*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *jūṯanŏ* 'to gnaw,' New Pers. *jāvīdan*, Gab.

jovādmūn, Afγ. *šōvul*, *šōyal*, Bal. *jāyag*, N. Bal. *jāγ*, Kurd. *jūn* (cf. Old Bulg. *živati*, Old High Germ. *kiuwan*).

jy > (*j*)*jh*.

§ 522. The assimilation of *jy* to (*j*)*jh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *adhijya* 'having the bow-string taut,' Pāli *adejjha*, but Skt. *jyā* 'bow-string,' Pāli *j*(*i*)*yā*.

jy > *ź*(*ź*), *š*(*š*).

§ 523. The assimilation of *jy* to *ź*(*ź*), or *š*(*š*), is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Phl. *jūṯanŏ* 'to gnaw,' Afγ. *šōvul*, *šōyal*, etc. (see § 521). Av. *jya* 'bow-string,' Pāz. *jīk*, New Pers. *zih*, Kāš. *zah*, *ša*, Afγ. *šai*, N. Bal. *jīγ*, Kurd. *ših*.

jv > *j*(*j*).

§ 524. The assimilation of *jv* to *j*(*j*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvālā* 'flame,' Prāk., Pāli *jālā*, Uṛ. *jvalibā*, Hindī *bālanā*, Panj. *jalaṇā*, *bālaṇā*, Sindhī *jalaṇu*, *bāraṇu*, Guj. *jaḷavuṁ*, Mar. *jaḷaṇēṁ*, Siṁh. *dala*.

jv > (*j*)*jh*.

§ 525. The assimilation of *jv* to (*j*)*jh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvalati* 'flames,' Apab. Prāk. *jalaï*, Pāli *jalati*, Uṛ. *jhalakanā*, Sindhī *jhalkaṇu*, Guj. *jhaḷakavuṁ*, Mar. *jhalakaṇēṁ*.

jv > *d*(*d*).

§ 526. The assimilation of *jv* to *d*(*d*) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvālā* 'flame,' Siṁh. *dala*, etc. (see §§ 524, 182).

jv > *b*(*b*).

§ 527. The assimilation of *jv* to *b*(*b*) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvālā* 'flame,' Hindī *bālanā*, Panj. *bālaṇā*, *jalaṇā*, Sindhī *bāraṇu*, *jalaṇu*, etc. (see § 524). Skt. *jvara* 'fever,' Prāk., Pāli *jara*, Sindhī *bar*.

n̂c > ng.

§ 528. The assimilation of *n̂c* to *ng* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *tancišta* 'most narrow,' Phl., New Pers. *tang*, Wāxī *tang*, Sarq. *tong*, Afγ. *tangaγī*, Bal. *tank*, N. Bal. *thanax*, *thanakh*, Kurd. *tank*.

n̂c > c(c).

§ 529. The assimilation of *n̂c* to *c(c)* occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Prāk. *paṇṇāsa*, Pāli *paññāsa*, *paṇṇāsa*, Kaśm. *pañčah*, Uṛ. *pacāśa*, Bang. *paṁcāsa*, Bihārī, Hindī *pacās*, Panj., Sindhī *paṁjāh*, Guj. *pacās*, Mar. *pannās*, Siṁh. *panaha*.

n̂c > j(j).

§ 530. The assimilation of *n̂c* to *j(j)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *kuñcikā* 'key,' Nāip. *kuṁjī*, Kaśm. *kuñz*, Uṛ. *kuji*, *kuṁcī*, *kuṁjhī*, Bang. *kūjī*, *kūṁjī*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kuṁjī*, Guj. *kuṁcī*, Mar. *kuṁjī*.

n̂c > n̂j.

§ 531. The softening of *n̂c* to *n̂j* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuñcikā* 'key,' Nāip. *kuṁjī*, Bang. *kū(ṁ)jī*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī, Mar. *kuṁjī*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av. *panca* 'five,' Phl. *panc*, New Pers. *panj*, Kāš. *hanc*, Wāxī *pānz*, Šiγn., Sarq. *pinz*, Sangl. *panz*, Minj. *panc*, Afγ. *pinja*, Oss. *fonj*, *fonǰ*, Kurd. *panj*, *pēnj*.

n̂c > n̂(n̂).

§ 532. The assimilation of *n̂c* to *n̂(n̂)* occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Pāli *paññāsa*, *paṇṇāsa*, etc. (see § 529).

n̂c > ṇ(ṇ).

§ 533. The assimilation of *n̂c* to *ṇ(ṇ)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Prāk. *paṇṇāsa*, Pāli *paṇṇāsa*, *paññāsa*, etc. (see § 529).

n̂c > *n*(*n*).

§ 534. The assimilation of *n̂c* to *n*(*n*) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Mar. *pannās*, Siṁh. *panaha*, etc. (see § 529).

n̂c > *s*(*s*).

§ 535. The assimilation of *n̂c* to *s*(*s*) is extremely rare (cf. § 165).

a. Indian. Skt. *kāñcana* 'gold,' Prāk. *kañcaṇa*, Pāli *kañcana*, Siṁh. *kasun*. Skt. *pañca* 'five,' Prāk., Pāli *pañca*, Kaśm. *pañč*, Ur., Bang., Bihārī, Hindī *pāṁc*, Panj., Sindhī *pāṁj*, Guj., Mar. *pāṁc*, Siṁh. *pasa*, *paha*, Gyp. *panc*.

n̂c > *h*(*h*).

§ 536. The assimilation of *n̂c* to *h*(*h*) is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañca* 'five,' Siṁh. *paha*, *pasa*, etc. (see preceding § and cf. § 169).

n̂j > *ṁd*.

§ 537. The assimilation of *n̂j* to *ṁd* is excessively rare, excepting in Siṁhalese (see § 182).

a. Indian. Skt. *añjana* 'collyrium,' Prāk. *añjaṇa*, Pāli *añjana*, Siṁh. *aṁduna*.

ḍg > *g*(*g*).

§ 538. The assimilation of *ḍg* to *g*(*g*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khaḍga* 'sword,' Prāk., Pāli *khagga*, Ur. *khaṁḍā*, Bang. *kharag*, Hindī *kharag*, *khāṁḍ*, Sindhī *khanō*, Guj. *khāruṁ*, Mar. *khaṁd*.

ḍg > *ḍ*(*ḍ*).

§ 539. The assimilation of *ḍg* to *ḍ*(*ḍ*) is comparatively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *khaḍga* 'sword,' Ur. *khaṁḍā*, Hindī *khāṁḍ*, *kharag*, Guj. *khāruṁ*, etc. (see preceding §).

ḍg > *n*(*n*).

§ 540. The assimilation of *ḍg* to *n*(*n*) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *khaḍga* 'sword,' Sindhī *khanō*, etc. (see § 538).

ṇṭ > *ṭ(ṭ)*.

§ 541. The assimilation of *ṇṭ* to *ṭ(ṭ)* is found occasionally.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇṭaka* 'thorn,' Prāk. *kaṇṭaa*, Pāli *kaṇṭ(h)aka*, Ass. *kāṁṭī*, Nāip. *kāṁṛā*, Kaśm. *koṇḍ*, *kūṇḍ*, Uṛ. *kaṇṭā*, *kāṁṭā*, Bang. *kāṭā*, *kāṁṭā*, Hindī *kāṁṭā*, Panj., Sindhī *kaṁḍā*, Guj. *kāṁṭō*, Mar. *kāṭā*, *kāṁṭā*, Gyp. *kanrō*, *kandō*.

ṇṭ > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 542. The assimilation of *ṇṭ* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇṭaka* 'thorn,' Nāip. *kāṁṛā*, Panj., Sindhī *kāṁḍā*, etc. (see preceding §).

ṇṭ > *ṇḍ*.

§ 543. The softening of *ṇṭ* to *ṇḍ* occurs quite rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇṭaka* 'thorn,' Kaśm. *koṇḍ*, *kūṇḍ*, Gyp. *kandō*, *kanrō*, etc. (see § 541).

ṇṭh > *ṇṭ*.

§ 544. The deaspirization of *ṇṭh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṇṭhi* 'ginger,' Kaśm. *śōṇṭ*, Uṛ., Bang. *śuṇṭha*, Hindī *sōṁṭh*, Panj. *suṇḍh*, *sōṁḍh*, Sindhī *suṇḍhi*, Guj. *suṇṭh*.

ṇṭh > *ṇḍh*.

§ 545. The softening of *ṇṭh* to *ṇḍh* is the most usual change of all those to which this consonant-group is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṇṭhi* 'ginger,' Panj. *suṇḍh*, *sōṁḍh*, Sindhī *suṇḍhi*, etc. (see preceding §).

ṇḍ > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 546. The assimilation of *ṇḍ* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khaṇḍaka* 'fragment,' Kaśm. *khaḍak*, Uṛ. *khaṇḍā*, E. Hindī, Hindī *khāṁṛ*, Panj. *khāṁḍā*, Sindhī *khanō*, Guj. *khāḍuṁ*, Mar. *khaṇḍā*, *khāṁḍā*. Skt. *duṇḍubha* 'sort of lizard,' Pāli *deḍḍubha*.

ṇḍ > *nd*.

§ 547. The decerebralization of *ṇḍ* is not a frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *raṇḍā* 'window,' Ass., Nāip. *rāṁri*, Uṛ., Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *rāṁr*, Panj. *rand*, Sindhī *ran*, Guj., Mar. *rāmḍ*.

ṇḍ > *n*(*n*).

§ 548. The assimilation of *ṇḍ* to *n*(*n*) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *khaṇḍaka* 'fragment,' Sindhī *khanō*, etc. (see § 546). Skt. *raṇḍā* 'window,' Sindhī *ran*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt., Pāli *gaṇḍaka* 'rhinoceros,' Bihārī *gannā*, *gandā*, *gāṁḍā*.

ṇḍh > *ḍ*(*ḍ*).

§ 549. The assimilation of *ṇḍh* to *ḍ*(*ḍ*) is not common.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Prāk. *saṇḍha*, Ass. *sāṁr*, Bang. *ṣāṁṛ*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sāṁṛ*, Panj. *sāṁḍh*, Sindhī *sānu*, Multānī *sāṁh*, *saṇḍhā*, Guj., Mar. *sāṁḍ*.

ṇḍh > *n*(*n*).

§ 550. The assimilation of *ṇḍh* to *n*(*n*) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Sindhī *sānu*, etc. (see preceding §).

ṇḍh > *ṁr*.

§ 551. The assimilation of *ṇḍh* to *ṁr* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Ass. *sāṁr*, etc. (see § 549).

ṇḍh > *ṁh*.

§ 552. The assimilation of *ṇḍh* to *ṁh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Multānī *sāṁh*, *saṇḍhā*, etc. (see § 549).

ṇy > *ñj*.

§ 553. The assimilation of *ṇy* to *ñj* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *brahmaṇya* 'Brahmanical,' Śaur. Prāk. *vamhañja*.

ṇy > *ñ*(*ñ*).

§ 554. The assimilation of *ṇy* to *ñ*(*ñ*) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *puṇya* 'pure,' Prāk. *puṇṇa*, Pāli *puñña*, *puṇṇa*, Sindhī *puñī*. Skt. *araṇya* 'desert,' Prāk. *raṇṇa*, Pāli *arañña*, Hindī *ran*, Sindhī *raṅ*, *rinu*, Guj., Mar. *rān*.

ṇy > *ṇ*(*ṇ*).

§ 555. The assimilation of *ṇy* to *ṇ*(*ṇ*) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *puṇya* 'pure,' Prāk. *puṇṇa*, Pāli *puṇṇa*, *puñña*, etc. (see preceding §).

ṇy > *n*(*n*).

§ 556. The assimilation of *ṇy* to *n*(*n*) is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *araṇya* 'desert,' Hindī *ran*, Sindhī *rinu*, *raṅ*, Guj., Mar. *rān*, etc. (see § 554). Skt. *hiraṇya* 'gold,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Khālsi and Kapur di Giri) *hilaṁna*, Pāli *hiraññ*a.

ṇv > *ṇ*(*ṇ*).

§ 557. The assimilation of *ṇv* to *ṇ*(*ṇ*) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇva* nom. prop., Prāk. *kaṇṇa*. Skt. *kiṇva* 'yeast,' Pāli *kiṇṇa*, Sindhī *kinu*.

ṇv > *n*(*n*).

§ 558. The assimilation of *ṇv* to *n*(*n*) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kiṇva* 'yeast,' Sindhī *kinu*, etc. (see preceding §).

tt > *ṭ*(*ṭ*).

§ 559. The cerebralization of *tt* to *ṭ*(*ṭ*) is in the great majority of cases due to the presence of a preceding *r*, *ṛ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *vṛtta* 'happened,' Prāk. *vaṭṭa*, Pāli *vaṭṭa*, *vatta*. Skt. *mṛttikā* 'clay,' Prāk. *maṭṭiā*, Pāli *mattikā*, Uṛ., Bang. *māṭī*, Hindī, Panj. *miṭṭī*, *maṭṭī*, Sindhī *miṭī*, Guj. *māṭī*, Mar. *mātī*. Skt. *pattana* 'town,' Prāk. *paṭṭaṇa*, Pāli *paṭṭana*.

tp > *p*(*p*).

§ 560. The assimilation of *tp* to *p*(*p*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *utpadyantē* 'they arise,' Prāk. *uppajjantē*, Pāli *uppajjanti*, cf. Sindhī *upanō*, Guj. *upan*(*y*)*ō*.

tm > *t*(*t*).

§ 561. The assimilation of *tm* to *t*(*t*) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātman* 'self,' Prāk. *attā*, *appā*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *āptā*, Pāli *attā*, *ātumā*, Ass. *āpu*, Nāip. *āphu*, Kaśm. *pāṇ*, U̱r., Bang. *āp*(*ē*), *āpaṇa*, *āpani*, Hindī, Panj. *āp*(*an*), Sindhī *pāṇ*, Guj. *āp*, Mar. *āp*(*aṇ*).

tm > *pt*.

§ 562. The assimilation of *tm* to *pt* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātman* 'self,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Girnar) *āptā*, lit. Prāk. *attā*, *appā*, etc. (see preceding § and cf. Pischel, *Gramm. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, § 277).

tm > *p*(*p*).

§ 563. The assimilation of *tm* to *p*(*p*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātman* 'self,' Prāk. *appā*, *attā*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *āptā*, Ass. *āpu*, Kaśm. *pāṇ*, U̱r., Bang. *āp*(*ē*), *āpaṇa*, *āpani*, Hindī, Panj. *āp*(*an*), Sindhī *pāṇ*, Guj. *āp*, Mar. *āp*(*aṇ*), etc. (see § 561).

ty > *c*(*c*).

§ 564. The assimilation of *ty* to *c*(*c*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *satya* 'true,' Prāk., Pāli *sacca*, Ass. *saṁcā*, [illegible] *homsā*), U̱r. *sacā*, Bang. *sāṁcā*, *sacā*, E. Hindī *sāṁc*, [illegible] *sāṁc*, *sa*(*ṁ*)*c*, Panj. *sacc*, Sindhī *sacū*, Guj., Mar. *sācuṁ*, [illegible] *sasa*, Gyp. *cacō*. Skt. *hatyā* 'murder,' Sindhī *hacā*.

ty > *t*(*t*).

§ 565. The assimilation of *ty* to *t*(*t*), while less frequent than the assimilation of *ty* to *c*(*c*), is, nevertheless, not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nitya* 'constant,' Prāk., Pāli *nicca*, Bihārī *nit*(*t*), Sindhī *nitu*, Siṁh. *nisadī*, *nisādī*. Skt. *amātya* 'minister,' Prāk., Pāli *amacca*, Siṁh. *ameta*, *ametiya*. Skt. *atyunnata* 'very high,' Jāina Prāk. *accunaya*.

ty > *s*(*s*).

§ 566. The assimilation of *ty* to *s*(*s*) is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nitya* 'constant,' Siṁh. *nisadī*, *nisādī*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *satya* 'true,' Siṁh. *sasa*, etc. (see § 564).

tr > *č*(*č*).

§ 567. The assimilation of *tr* to *č*(*č*) is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Old Pers. *puθ^{r}a*, Phl. *pus*(*ar*), *puhr*, New Pers. *pus*(*ar*), *pūr*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Samn. *pīr*, Wāxī *pötr*, Šiγn. *puč*, Sarq. *pöč*, Minj. *pūr*, Yaγn. *pulah*, N. Bal. *phusaγ*, Dig. Oss. *furth*, Tag. *firth*, Kurd. *pisir*.

tr > *ṭ*(*ṭ*).

§ 568. The assimilation of *tr* to *ṭ*(*ṭ*) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *putra* 'son,' Prāk. *putta*, Śaur. Prāk. *puḍ*(*ḍ*)*a*, Pāli *putta*, Uṛ. *pua*, Hindī *put*, Sindhī *puṭru*, Lār. *puṭṭu*, Mar. *putī*, Siṁh. *pit*, *put*.

tr > *ṭr*.

§ 569. The assimilation of *tr* to *ṭr* occurs only in Sindhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *trīṇi* 'three,' Prāk. *tiṇṇi*, Pāli *tīṇi*, Kaśm. *trih*, Uṛ. *tini*, Bang. *tina*, Bihārī *tīni*, Hindī *tīn*, Panj. *tiṁn*, Sindhī *ṭrē*, Guj. *taṇ*, Mar. *tīn*, Gyp. *trin*. Skt. *sūtra* 'thread,' Prāk., Pāli *sutta*, New Ind. dialects *sūt*, excepting Sindhī *suṭru*, Lār. *suṭṭu*, Siṁh. *suta*.

tr > (*t*)*ṭh*.

§ 570. The assimilation of *tr* to (*t*)*ṭh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prathamaputra* 'first-born son,' E. Hindī, Hindī *pahilaṁṭhā*, Panj. *pahilōṭhā*, Sindhī *pahrōṭhō*, *pahrāṭu*.

tr > *ḍ*(*ḍ*).

§ 571. The assimilation of *tr* to *ḍ*(*ḍ*) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *putra* 'son,' Śāur. Prāk. *puḍ*(*ḍ*)*a*, etc. (see § 568).

tr > *t*(*t*).

§ 572. The assimilation of *tr* to *t*(*t*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rātri* 'night,' Prāk. *ratti*, *rāī*, Pāli *ratti*, Kaśm., Uṛ., Bang., Bihārī, Hindī *rāt*, Panj. *ratt*, *rāt*, Sindhī *rāti*, Guj., Mar. *rāt*, Siṁh. *räya*, *rā*, Gyp. *rat*, Span. Gyp. (*a*)*raci*. Skt. *kṣētra* 'field,' Prāk. *chetta*, Pāli *khetta*, Uṛ., Bang. *khēta*, Hindī *khēt*, *khēḍā*, Panj. *khēt*, Sindhī *khēṭu*, Guj. *khēḍ*, Mar. *śēt*, Siṁh. *keta*. Skt. *trimaṇḍala* 'Buddhist's robe,' Pāli *tīmaṇḍala*, Old Siṁh. *dunumaṇḍul*, New Siṁh. *tunmaḍulla*. Skt. *putra* 'son,' Prāk., Pāli *putta*, Hindī *put*, Mar. *putī*, Siṁh. *pit*, *put*, etc. (see § 568).

tr > *dr*.

§ 573. The assimilation of *tr* to *dr* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *θri* 'three,' Pāz. *se*, New Pers. *sih*, Tāt *se*, Wāxī *trui*, Šiγn. *arrai*, Sarq. *haroi*, Sangl. *trāi*, Minj. *šarai*, Yaγn. *θaraï*, Afγ. *drē*, Kurd. *sē*.

tr > *phr*, *fr*.

§ 574. The assimilation of *tr* to *phr*, *fr*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *θraētaona* nom. prop., Phl. *frēṯūn*, Pāz. *frēdūn*, New Pers. *farēdūn*.

tr > *r*(*r*).

§ 575. The assimilation of *tr* to *r*(*r*) is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' New Pers. *pūr*, *pus*(*ar*), Gab.

pūr, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Samn. *pīr*, Minj. *pūr*, etc. (see § 567). Av. *ciθra* 'bright,' Phl. *citrē*, New Pers. *cihr*, Afγ. *čēr*, Kurd. *cāra*.

tr > *l*(*l*).

§ 576. The assimilation of *tr* to *l*(*l*) is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Yaγn. *pulah*, etc. (see § 567). Old Pers. Μιθραδάτης, Μιθριδάτης, nom. prop., Phl. *miṯrdāṯ*, New Pers. *mīlād*.

tr > *s*(*s*).

§ 577. The assimilation of *tr* to *s*(*s*) is quite common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Phl. *pus*(*ar*), *puhr*, New Pers. *pus*(*ar*), *pūr*, N. Bal. *phusaγ*, Kurd. *pisir*, etc. (see § 567). Av. *θri* 'three,' Pāz. *se*, New Pers. *sih*, Tāt *se*, Kurd. *sē*, etc. (see § 573). Av. *pāθra* 'protection,' Phl., New Pers. *pās*.

tr > *š*(*š*).

§ 578. The assimilation of *tr* to *š*(*š*) is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *θri* 'three,' Minj. *šarai*, etc. (see § 573).

tr > *hr*.

§ 579. The assimilation of *tr* to *hr* is common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Phl. *puhr*, *pus*(*ar*), etc. (see § 567). Av. *ciθra* 'bright,' New Pers. *cihr*, etc. (see § 575). Av. *θri* 'three,' Sarq. *haroi*, etc. (see § 573).

Syncope of tr.

§ 580. The loss of the consonant-group *tr* internally is a very rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *rātri* 'night,' Prāk. *rāi*, *ratti*, Siṁh. *rā*, *räya*, etc. (see § 572). Skt. *mitra* 'friend,' Prāk. *mia*, *mitta*, Pāli *mitta*, Sindhī *miḍ*.

tv > *t*(*t*).

§ 581. The assimilation of *tv* to *t*(*t*) is the regular one undergone by this consonant-group in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tvarita* 'quick,' Prāk. *turia*, Pāli *turita*, Hindī, Panj. *turaṁt*, Sindhī *turtu*, Guj. *turat*, Mar. *turāt*. Skt. *catvāraḥ* 'four,' Prāk. *cattāra*, *caüra*, Pāli *catu*, Kaśm. *čōr*, Ur., Bang., Bihārī *cāri*, Hindī, Panj. *cār*, Sindhī *cāri*, Guj., Mar. *cār*, Old Siṁh. *siv*(*u*), New Siṁh. *hatara*, *satara*, *hār*, Gyp. *štar*.

b. Iranian. Av. *tūm* < * *tvəm* 'thou,' Pāz. *tō*, New Pers. *tŭ*, Afγ. *ta*, Kurd. *tu*, Dig. Oss. *du*, Tag. *di*.

tv > *d*(*d*).

§ 582. The assimilation of *tv* to *d*(*d*) is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *tūm* 'thou,' Dig. Oss. *du*, Tag. *di*, etc. (see preceding §).

tv > *p*(*p*).

§ 583. The assimilation of *tv* to *p*(*p*) is not uncommon in the Indian dialects, especially in the case of the Old Indian suffix *-tva*, which generally becomes *-pan*, *-paṇu*, *-puṇā*, etc., in the New Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects an assimilation of *tv* to *p*(*p*) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vṛddhatva* 'old age,' Bang. *buḍhāpaṇā*, *buḍhāpā*, Hindī *būḍhāpan*, Panj. *buḍhāpā*, Sindhī *ƀuḍhāpaṇu*, Guj. *buḍhāpō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl. *cahār*, Pāz. *cihār*, New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxī *čabur*, *čabūr*, Šiγn. *čavor*, *čavār*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safōr*, Minj. *cafīr*, Yidg. *cīr*, Yaγn. *tfō*, Afγ. *calor*, Dig. Oss. *čuppar*, *čuphphar*, Tag. *cippar*, *ciphphar*.

tv > *ph*, *f*.

§ 584. The assimilation of *tv* to *ph*, *f*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Sangl. *safōr*, Minj. *cafīr*, Yaγn. *tfō*, Dig. Oss. *čuppar*, *čuphphar*, Tag. *cippar*, *ciphphar*, etc. (see preceding §).

tv > *b*(*b*).

§ 585. The assimilation of *tv* to *b*(*b*) is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Wāxī *čabur*, *čabūr*, etc. (see § 583).

tv > *l*(*l*).

§ 586. The assimilation of *tv* to *l*(*l*) is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Afγ. *calor*, etc. (see § 583).

tv > *v*(*v*).

§ 587. The assimilation of *tv* to *v*(*v*) is found occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *catvāraḥ* 'four,' Old Siṁh. *siv*(*u*), etc. (see § 581).

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Šiγn. *čavor*, *čavār*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, etc. (see § 583).

tv > *sp*.

§ 588. The assimilation of *tv* to *sp* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *θwāša* 'firmament,' Phl. *spāsar*.

tv > *h*(*h*).

§ 589. The assimilation of *tv* to *h*(*h*) is quite frequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl. *cahār*, Pāz. *cihār*, New Pers. *cahār*, etc. (see § 583). Av. *frapiθwa* 'flourishing,' Phl. *frapīh*, *farpīh*, New Pers. *farbih*.

Syncope of tv.

§ 590. The loss of the consonant-group *tv* internally is a very rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Yidg. *cīr*, etc. (see § 583).

ts > *c*(*c*).

§ 591. The assimilation of *ts* to *c*(*c*) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bībhatsa* 'loathsome,' Pāli *bībhacca*. Skt.

vatsa 'calf,' Prāk., Pāli *vaccha*, Ass. *bācru* (pron. *bāsru*), Kaśm. *vač*, Bang. *bacchā*, *vacchā*, E. Hindī *bāchā*, W. Hindī *bacā*, Panj. *baccā*, Sindhī *b̄acō*, Guj. *baccō*, Mar. *bacrēṁ*, *vāsrūṁ*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Phl. *vacak*, *bacak*, Wāxī *vušk*, Sarq. *višk*, Bal. *gvac*, Kurd. *vacahā*, Dig. Oss. *vass*.

ts > (*c*)*ch*.

§ 592. The assimilation of *ts* to (*c*)*ch* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vatsara* 'year,' Prāk., Pāli *vacchara*. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Prāk., Pāli *vaccha*, Bang. *vacchā*, *bacchā*, E. Hindī *bāchā*, etc. (see preceding §).

ts > *ṣ*(*ṣ*).

§ 593. The assimilation of *ts* to *ṣ*(*ṣ*) is very rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Wāxī *vušk*, Sarq. *višk*, etc. (see § 591).

ts > *s*(*s*).

§ 594. The assimilation of *ts* to *s*(*s*) is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *utsuka* 'anxious,' Prāk. *ussua*, Māhār. Prāk. *ussuya*, Jāina Prāk. *ussuka*. Skt. *vyutsarga* 'eructation,' Prāk. *viussagga*. Skt. *utsada* 'desire,' Pāli *ussada*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Dig. Oss. *vass*, etc. (see § 591).

tsy > (*c*)*c*.

§ 595. The assimilation of *tsy* to (*c*)*c* is found frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *matsya* 'fish,' Apab. Prāk. *macchu*, Pāli *maccha*, Ass. *māc* (pron. *mās*), U̱r., Bang., Hindī *māch* (vulgar pron. in Bang. *māsŏ*), Panj. *macch*, Sindhī *machu*, Mar. *māsā*, Siṁh. *mas*, Gyp. *macō*.

tsy > (*c*)*ch*.

§ 596. The assimilation of *tsy* to (*c*)*ch* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *matsya* 'fish,' Apab. Prāk. *macchu*, Pāli *maccha*, Ur., Bang., Hindī *māch* (vulgar pron. in Bang. *māsŏ*), Panj. *macch*, Sindhī *machu*, etc. (see preceding §).

tsy > *s*(*s*).

§ 597. The assimilation of *tsy* to *s*(*s*) occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *matsya* 'fish,' Ass. *māc* (pron. *mās*), Bang. vulgar pron. *māsŏ*, Mar. *māsā*, Siṁh. *mas*, etc. (see § 595).

thy > (*c*)*ch*.

§ 598. The assimilation of *thy* to (*c*)*ch* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pathya* 'welfare,' Prāk. *paccha*. Skt. *mithyā* 'false,' Prāk. *micchā*, Avant. Prāk. *mitthā*, Pāli *micchā*, Ass. *mica*, Ur. *mich*, Bang., Old Hindī *michā*, Sindhī *maṭhyaṁ*, Siṁh. *misa*.

thy > *s*(*s*).

§ 599. The assimilation of *thy* to *s*(*s*) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mithyā* 'false,' Siṁh. *misa*, etc. (see preceding §).

dg > *g*(*g*).

§ 600. The assimilation of *dg* to *g*(*g*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects, but it is extremely rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *mudga* 'kidney-bean,' Prāk., Pāli *mugga*, Ur. *mūga*, Bang. *mug*, E. Hindī, Hindī *mūṁg*, Panj. *mugg*, Multānī *muṁg*, Sindhī *muñu*, Mar. *mūg*. Skt. *mudgara* 'hammer,' Prāk., Pāli *muggara*, Ur. *mōgara*, Hindī *mūgarā*, *mōgarā*, Sindhī *muñirō*, Guj., Mar. *mōgar*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *madgu* 'cormorant,' New Pers. *māγ*.

dgh > *g*(*g*).

§ 601. The assimilation of *dgh* to *g*(*g*) is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *udghāṭayati* 'opens,' Prāk. *uggaï*, *ugghāḍaï*, Pāli *ugghāṭēti*, Uṛ. *uganā*, Sindhī *ūgaṇu*, Guj. *ugavuṁ*, Mar. *ugaviṇēṁ*.

dgh > (*g*)*gh*.

§ 602. The assimilation of *dgh* to (*g*)*gh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *udghāṭayati* 'opens,' Prāk. *ugghāḍaï*, Pāli *ugghāṭēti*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *udghōṣa* 'proclamation,' Pāli *ugghōsa*.

ddh > (*ṭ*)*ṭh*.

§ 603. The assimilation of *ddh* to (*ṭ*)*ṭh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuddha* 'pure,' Prāk., Pāli *suddha*, Hindī *sudh*, Sindhī *suṭhō*.

ddh > (*ḍ*)*ḍh*.

§ 604. The cerebralization of *ddh* is caused in the great majority of instances by the presence of *r*, *ṛ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śraddhā* 'offering to the dead,' Prāk. *saḍḍhā*, *saddhā*, Pāli *saddhā*. Skt. *vṛddhi* 'growth,' Prāk. *vuḍḍhi*, Pāli *vuḍḍhi*, *vuddhi*.

dm > *m*(*m*).

§ 605. The assimilation of *dm* to *m*(*m*) is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *nišēm*, *nišēman* 'resting-place' < **nišīdman*.

dm > *nm*.

§ 606. The assimilation of *dm* to *nm* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhinadmi* 'I split,' Gāthā *bhinanmi*.

dy > *j*(*j*).

§ 607. The assimilation of *dy* to *j*(*j*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vidyut* 'lightning,' Prāk., Pāli *vijju*, Uṛ. *bijuṛī*, Rang., Hindī, Panj. *bījalī*, Sindhī *vijuṁ*, Guj. *vijuḷī*, Mar. *bijuṛī*, *vij*. Skt. *adya* 'to-day,' Prāk., Pāli *ajja*, Ass. *āji*, Kaśm.

aj, *aẓ*, Uṛ., Bang. *āj*, Old Hindī *āju*, E. Hindī, Hindī *āj*, Panj. *ajj*, Sindhī *ajū*, Guj., Mar. *āj*, Siṁh. *ada*. Skt. *dyuti* 'light,' Prāk. *jui*, Pāli *juti*.

dy > *d*(*d*).

§ 608. The assimilation of *dy* to *d*(*d*) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *adya* 'to-day,' Siṁh. *ada*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vāidya* 'physician,' Prāk., Pāli *vejja*, Siṁh. *veda*.

dr > *j*(*j*).

§ 609. The assimilation of *dr* to *j*(*j*) is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prāk., Pāli *niddā*, Hindī, Panj. *nīṁd*, Sindhī *niṁḍ*, Mar. *nīj*, *nīd*, Gyp. *lindr*.

dr > *ḍ*(*ḍ*).

§ 610. The assimilation of *dr* to *ḍ*(*ḍ*) is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣudra* 'small,' Prāk. *khuḍḍa*, Pāli *khudda*, Uṛ. *khuḍatā*, Bang. *khuḍā*, Old Siṁh. *cuḍi*, Siṁh. *kuḍa*, *kudu*. Skt. *dadru* 'ring-worm,' Pāli *daddu*, Hindī *dād*, Sindhī *ḍaṛhu*, *ḍaḍhu*, Guj. *dādar*, Mar. *dād*, *dādaḍ*.

dr > (*ḍ*)*ḍh*.

§ 611. The assimilation of *dr* to (*ḍ*)*ḍh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dadru* 'ring-worm,' Sindhī *ḍaṛhu*, etc. (see preceding §).

dr > *d*(*d*).

§ 612. The assimilation of *dr* to *d*(*d*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prāk., Pāli *niddā*, Hindī, Panj. *ṇīṁd*, Mar. *nīd*, *nīj*, etc. (see § 609). Skt. *mudrā* 'seal,' Prāk., Pāli *muddā*. Skt. *drākṣa* 'grape,' Kaśm. *dach*, Hindī, Panj. *dākh*, Sindhī *ḍākh*, Gyp. *drakh*.

dr > *l*(*l*).

§ 613. The assimilation of *dr* to *l*(*l*) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhadra* 'good,' Prāk. *bhadda*, Pāli *bhadra*,

bhadda, Ass. *bhāl*, Uṛ. *bhala*, Bang. *bhāla*, Hindī, Panj. *bhalā*, Sindhī, Guj. *bhalō*, Mar. *bhalā*. Skt. *chidra* 'hole,' Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *chidda*, Bihārī *chēd*, Siṁh. *hila*.

dr > *sr*.

§ 614. The assimilation of *dr* to *sr* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xšudra* 'seed,' Phl. *susar*, Gab. *šosr*.

dr > *hr*.

§ 615. The assimilation of *dr* to *hr* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *baδra* 'portion,' Phl., New Pers. *bahr*.

dv > *d*(*d*).

§ 616. The assimilation of *dv* to *d*(*d*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śādvala* 'grassy,' Pāli *saddala*. Skt. *dvāra* 'door,' Prāk. *dēra*, *duāra*, *dāra*, *bāra*, Pāli *dvāra*, Uṛ. *dara*, Sindhī *dāru*, *dārī*, Guj. *bār*, Mar. *dār*, Siṁh. *dēra*, *dora*. Skt. *dvi* 'two,' Prāk. *duve*, Pāli *dvi*, Kaśm. *ʒah*, Uṛ., Bang. *dui*, Hindī, Panj. *dō*, Sindhī *ḇa*, Guj. *bē*, Mar. *dōn*. Skt. *dvīpa*, 'island,' Prāk. *dīva*, Pāli *dīpa*, Siṁh. *diva*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dvar* 'door,' Old Pers. *duvarā*, Phl., New Pers. *dar*, Gab., Kāš. *bar*, Samn. *barī*, Wāxī *bār*, Šiγn. *divē*(*r*), Sarq. *divīr*, Minj. *labra*, Afγ. *var*, Kurd. *bar*, Oss. *dvar*.

dv > *b*(*b*).

§ 617. The assimilation of *dv* to *b*(*b*) is frequent both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dvāra* 'door,' Prāk. *bāra*, *dāra*, *duāra*, *dēra*, Guj. *bār*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *dvādaśan* 'twelve,' Prāk. *bāraha*, Pāli *bārasa*, *dvādasa*, Kaśm. *bāh*, Uṛ. *bāra*, Bang. *bārō*, Bihārī, Hindī *bārah*, Panj. *bārāṁ*, Sindhī *ḇārahaṁ*, Guj. *bār*, Mar. *bārā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dvar* 'door,' Gab., Kāš. *bar*, Samn. *barī*, Wāxī *bār*, Kurd. *bar*, etc. (see § 616). Skt. *dvēṣas* 'enmity,' Av. *ẓbaēšah*, Phl. *bēš*.

dv > *v*(*v*).

§ 618. The assimilation of *dv* to *v*(*v*) is comparatively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *udvēṣṭati* 'surrounds,' Prāk. *uvvellaï*. [See now Pischel, *Gramm. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, § 107.]

b. Iranian. Av. *dvar* 'door,' Afγ. *var*, etc. (see § 616).

dhy > (*j*)*jh*.

§ 619. The assimilation of *dhy* to (*j*)*jh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Prāk., Pāli *majjha*, Ass. *māj* (pron. *māz*), Kaśm. *maṁz*, Uṛ. *mājhi*, Bang. *mājh*, Buṛhvānī *maddē*, Bihārī *madhi*, Old Hindī *maddhē*, Hindī *mājhi*, *māṁjh*, *māṁh*, *māṁjhōlā*, Panj. *mājjh*, *majjh*, Sindhī *maṁjhu*, Mar. *mājh*, Eḷu *madu*, Siṁh. *mäda*, inscriptions *mäṁda*, Gyp. *maškarē*. Skt. *upadhyāya* 'teacher,' Prāk. *u(v)ajjhāa*, *ojjhāa*, Pāli *upajjhāya*, Bihārī *pādhā*, Hindī *ōjhā*, Sindhī *vājhō*. Skt. *budhyati* 'understands,' Prāk. *bujjhaï*, Pāli *bujjhati*, Kaśm. *bōjï* (pron. *bōzi*), Uṛ. *bujhibā*, Bang. *būjhan*, Hindī *būjhanā*, Panj. *bujjhaṇā*, Sindhī *bujhaṇu*, Guj. *bujavuṁ*, Mar. *bujh*. Skt. *dhyāna* 'meditation,' Prāk., Pāli *jhāṇa*, Hindī *samajjhānā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dhyāna* 'meditation,' Phl., New Pers. *jān*.

dhy > *d*(*d*).

§ 620. The assimilation of *dhy* to *d*(*d*) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Buṛhvānī *maddē*, Eḷu *madu*, Siṁh. *mä*(*ṁ*)*da*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vidhyati* 'pierces,' Pāli *vijjhati*, Siṁh. *vidinavā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maiδya* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*,

Wāxī *malung*, Šiγn. *maδāna*, Sarq. *mēδ*, Sangl. *mīda*, Afγ. *mlā*, Dig. Oss. *mēdag*, Tag. *mīdag*.

dhy > (*d*)*dh*.

§ 621. The assimilation of *dhy* to (*d*)*dh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Bihārī *madhi*, Old Hindī *maddhē*, etc. (see § 619).

b. Iranian. Av. *maiδya* 'middle,' Šiγn. *maδāna*, Sarq. *mēδ*, etc. (see preceding §).

dhy > *y*(*y*).

§ 622. The assimilation of *dhy* to *y*(*y*) is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *maiδya* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*, etc. (see § 620).

dhy > *l*(*l*).

§ 623. The assimilation of *dhy* to *l*(*l*) is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *maiδya* 'middle,' Wāxī *malung*, Afγ. *mlā*, etc. (see § 620).

dhy > *s*(*s*).

§ 624. The assimilation of *dhy* to *s*(*s*) occurs with the utmost rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Ass. *mās* (written *māj*), Kaśm. *maṁs*, etc. (see § 619). Skt. *budhyati* 'understands,' Kaśm. *bōsi* (written *bōji*), etc. (see § 619).

dhy > *h*(*h*).

§ 625. The assimilation of *dhy* to *h*(*h*) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Hindī *māṁh*, *māṁjh*(*ōlā*), *māṁjh*, *mājhi*, etc. (see § 619).

dhr > (*j*)*jh*.

§ 626. The assimilation of *dhr* to (*j*)*jh* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gṛdhra* 'vulture,' Prāk. *giddha*, Pāli *gijjha*, *gaddha*, *giddha*, Bang. *gidh*, Hindī *gīdh*, *giddh*, Panj. *giddh*, Sindhī *gijhu*, Guj. *gīd*(*h*), Mar. *gīdh*, *gīd*, *gidhaḍ*.

dhr > *d*(*d*).

§ 627. The assimilation of *dhr* to *d*(*d*) is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gṛdhra* 'vulture,' Guj. *gīd*, *gīdh*, Mar. *gīd*, *gīdh*, *gidhaḍ*, etc. (see preceding §).

dhr > (*d*)*dh*.

§ 628. The assimilation of *dhr* to (*d*)*dh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhruva* 'firm,' Jāina Prāk. *dhuva*. Skt. *gṛdhra* 'vulture,' Prāk. *giddha*, Pāli *gaddha*, *giddha*, *gijjha*, Bang. *gidh*, Hindī *gīdh*, *giddh*, Panj. *giddh*, Guj. *gīdh*, *gīd*, Mar. *gīdh*, *gidhaḍ*, *gīd*, etc. (see § 626).

dhv > (*j*)*jh*.

§ 629. The assimilation of *dhv* to (*j*)*jh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhvaja* 'flag,' Prāk. *jhaya*, *dhaya*, Hindī, Panj. *dhajā*, Guj. *dhajō*, Siṁh. *dada*. Skt. *madhvālu* 'yam,' Pāli *majjhāru*.

dhv > *d*(*d*).

§ 630. The assimilation of *dhv* to *d*(*d*) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhvaja* 'flag,' Siṁh. *dada*, etc. (see preceding §).

dhv > (*d*)*dh*.

§ 631. The assimilation of *dhv* to (*d*)*dh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhvaja* 'flag,' Prāk. *dhaya*, *jhaya*, Hindī, Panj. *dhajā*, Guj. *dhajō*, etc. (see § 629). Skt. *adhvan* 'road,' Prāk., Pāli *addhā*.

nt > *t*(*t*).

§ 632. The assimilation of *nt* to *t*(*t*) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *-ant* term. of pres. part. act., Prāk. *-anta*, Apab. Prāk. *-antu*, Śaur. Prāk. *-andō*, Ass. *-ōṁtē*, Nāip. *-ādā*, Kaśm. *-ān*, Uṛ. *-ant*, Bang. *-it*, E. Hindī *-at*, Old Hindī *-ant*,

Hindī *-atā*, Panj. *-a(n)dā*, Sindhī *-andō*, Multānī *-andā*, *-endā*, Guj. *-atō*, Mar. *-atā*, *-at*, *-īt*.

nt > *(t)th*.

§ 633. The assimilation of *nt* to *(t)th* is not of frequent occurrence.

a. Indian. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Phl., New Pers. *dandān*, Waxī *dündük*, Šiγn., Sarq. *ðandān*, Minj. *land*, Bal. *dantān*, N. Bal. *dathān*, *danthān*, Kurd. *didān*, Tag. Oss. *dandag*. Av. *bərəzant* 'high,' New Pers. *buland*, Dig. Oss. *barzanththa* (plural), Tag. *barzaththa*.

nt > *d(d)*.

§ 634. The assimilation of *nt* to *d(d)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *-ant* term. of pres. part. act., Nāip. *-ādā*, Panj. *-adā*, *-andā*, etc. (see § 632).

b. Iranian. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Kurd. *didān*, etc. (see preceding §).

nt > *nd*.

§ 635. The softening of *nt* to *nd* is very common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *-ant* term. of pres. part. act., Śaur. Prāk. *-andō*, Panj. *-andā*, *-adā*, Sindhī *-andō*, Multānī *-andā*, *-endā*, etc. (see § 632).

b. Iranian. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Phl., New Pers. *dandān*, Waxī *dündük*, Šiγn., Sarq. *ðandān*, Minj. *land*, Tag. Oss. *dandag*, etc. (see § 633). Av. *jvant* 'living,' Phl. *zīvandak*, New Pers. *zindah*, Kāš. *janda*, Afγ. *źvand*.

nt > *n(n)*.

§ 636. The assimilation of *nt* to *n(n)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *-ant* term. of pres. part. act., Kaśm. *-ān*, etc. (see § 632).

b. Iranian. Av. *gainti* 'stench,' Phl., New Pers. *gand*, Afγ. *ganda(l)*, Kurd. *gannak* 'castor-oil plant.'

ntr > *ṇṭr*.

§ 637. The assimilation of *ntr* to *ṇṭr* is confined to the Sindhī (cf. § 569).

a. Indian. Skt. *mantra* 'incantation,' Sindhī *maṇṭru*, *maṇḍru*.

ntr > *ṇḍr*.

§ 638. The assimilation of *ntr* to *ṇḍr* also is confined to the Sindhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *mantra* 'incantation,' Sindhī *maṇḍru*, *maṇṭru*.

ntr > *r*(*r*).

§ 639. The assimilation of *ntr* to *r*(*r*) is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *tąθra* 'dark,' Phl., New Pers. *tār*, Minj. *tarāvi*, Afγ. *tōr*, Dig. Oss. *thalinga*, Tag. *thaling*.

ntr > *l*(*l*).

§ 640. The assimilation of *ntr* to *l*(*l*) is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *tąθra* 'dark,' Dig. Oss. *thalinga*, Tag. *thaling*, etc. (see preceding §).

nth > *ṭ*(*ṭ*).

§ 641. The assimilation of *nth* to *ṭ*(*ṭ*) is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *granthi* 'knot,' Prāk., Pāli *gaṇṭhi*, Sindhī *gaṁḍhi*, *ghuṁḍi*, Mar. *gaṁṭh*, Siṁh. *gāṭayā*.

nth > *ṁṭh*.

§ 642. The cerebralization of *nth* is of very unusual occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt. *granthi* 'knot,' Prāk., Pāli *gaṇṭhi*, Mar. *gaṁṭh*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *grantha* 'book,' Pāli *gantha*, Uṛ. *gaṇṭha*, Bang. *gāṁṭ*, *gāṁṭh*, Hindī *gāṁṭh*, Panj. *gaṁḍh*, *gaṇḍh*, Sindhī *gaṁḍh*, Guj., Mar. *gāṁṭh*, Siṁh. *gaṭa*.

nth > *ṁḍh*.

§ 643. The assimilation of *nth* to *ṁḍh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grantha* 'book,' Panj. *gaṁḍh*, *gaṇḍh*, Sindhī *gaṁḍh*, etc. (see preceding §).

nth > *t*(*t*).

§ 644. The assimilation of *nth* to *t*(*t*) is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grantha* 'book,' Siṁh. *gata*, etc. (see § 642).

nth > *d*(*d*).

§ 645. The assimilation of *nth* to *d*(*d*) is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pantan* 'way,' Phl., New Pers. *pand*, Šiγn. *pund*, Sarq. *pānd*, Sangl. *pandah*, Yidg. *pāduh*, Dig. Oss. *fand*.

nth > *nd*.

§ 646. The assimilation of *nth* to *nd* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pantan* 'way,' Phl., New Pers. *pand*, Šiγn. *pund*, Sarq. *pānd*, Sangl. *pandah*, Dig. Oss. *fand*, etc. (see preceding §).

nth > *ndh*.

§ 647. The softening of *nth* to *ndh* occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *pantha* 'way,' Prāk. *paṁtha*, Pāli *pantha*, Kaśm. *pāiṁth*, *pāṁth*, *pānth*, Siṁh. *pandhu*.

ndr > *ṇḍr*.

§ 648. The cerebralization of *ndr* to *ṇḍr* is confined to the Sindhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *candra* 'moon,' Prāk. *canda*, *caṁda*, Pāli *canda*, New Ind. dialects *cāṁd*, also Kaśm. *čandar*, E. Hindī *cān*, Hindī, Panj. *caṁd*, Sindhī *caṁḍu*, *caṇḍru*, Siṁh. *sanda*, *handa*, Maldive *ha*(*n*)*du*, Gyp. *con*.

ndr > *nd*.

§ 649. The assimilation of *ndr* to *nd* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *candra* 'moon,' Prāk. *canda*, *caṁda*, Pāli *canda*, New Ind. dialects *cāṁd*, also Hindī, Panj. *caṁd*, Siṁh. *sanda*, *handa*, Maldive *ha*(*n*)*du*, etc. (see preceding §).

ndr > *n*(*n*).

§ 650. The assimilation of *ndr* to *n*(*n*) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *candra* 'moon,' E. Hindī *cān*, Gyp. *con*, etc. (see § 648).

ndh > *t*(*t*).

§ 651. The assimilation of *ndh* to *t*(*t*) is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Phl. *basṭanŏ*, New Pers. *bandam*, Māz. *van*(*n*)*am*, Gīl. *davaddam*, Waxī *vandam*, Šiγn., Sarq. *vindam*, Bal. *bandag*, Kurd. *bandim*, Dig. Oss. *battim*, Tag. *baththin*.

ndh > (*t*)*th*.

§ 652. The assimilation of *ndh* to (*t*)*th* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Tag. Oss. *baththin*, etc. (see preceding §).

ndh > *d*(*d*).

§ 653. The assimilation of *ndh* to *d*(*d*) is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Gīl. *davaddam*, etc. (see § 651).

ndh > *nd*.

§ 654. The deaspirization of *ndh* is not a frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prāk., Pāli *khandha*, Ass. *kāṁd*, *kāṁdh*, Ur., Bang. *kāṁdh*, Bihārī *kāṁdhā*, *khāṁdā*, Hindī *kāṁdhā*, Panj. *kandhā*, *kannh*, Sindhī *kandhu*, Guj. *khāṁdŏ*, Mar. *khāṁdā*, Siṁh. *kanda*.

ndh > *n*(*n*).

§ 655. The assimilation of *ndh* to *n*(*n*) is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Māz. *van*(*n*)*am*, etc. (see § 651).

ndh > (*n*)*nh*.

§ 656. The assimilation of *ndh* to (*n*)*nh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sandhi* 'friendship, burglar's mine,' Prāk., Pāli *sandhi*, Ass. *sindhi*, Kaśm. *san*, Ur., Bang. *siṁdh*, E. Hindī *sēnhi*, *sēṁdh*, Hindī *sēṁdh*, Panj. *sannh*, Sindhī *sēṇḍhi*, Multānī

sandh. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Panj. *kannh*, *kandhā*, etc. (see § 654). Skt., Pāli *andhakāra* 'darkness,' Hindī *aṁdhērā*, *aṁdhīyārā*, Panj. *annhērā*.

ndhy > *ṁj*(*j*).

§ 657. The assimilation of *ndhy* to *ṁj*(*j*) is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sandhyā* 'twilight,' Prāk. *saṁjhā*, Pāli *saññhā*, U̱r. *sāṁjh*, Bang. *sāṁj*, *sāṁjh*, Bihārī, Hindī *sāṁjh*, Panj. *saṁjh*, Sindhī *sāṁjhī*, *saṁjhā*, Guj. *sāṁj*, Mar. *sāṁj*, *sāṁjh*.

ndhy > *ṁ*(*j*)*jh*.

§ 658. The assimilation of *ndhy* to *ṁ*(*j*)*jh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sandhyā* 'twilight,' Prāk. *saṁjhā*, Pāli *saññhā*, U̱r. *sāṁjh*, Bang. *sāṁjh*, *sāṁj*, Bihārī, Hindī *sāṁjh*, Panj. *saṁjh*, Sindhī *saṁjhā*, *sāṁjhī*, Mar. *sāṁjh*, *sāṁj*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *bandhya* 'barren,' Pāli *vaññha*, Ass. *bāṁji*, U̱r. *bāṁjha*, Bang. *bāṁjhā*, E. Hindī, Hindī *bāṁjh*, Panj. *bañjh*, Guj., Mar. *vāṁjh*.

nm > *mm*.

§ 659. The assimilation of *nm* to *mm* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *janman* 'birth,' Prāk., Pāli *jamma*. Skt. *unmārga* 'underground watercourse,' Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *ummagga*.

b. Iranian. Av. *saēna mərəγa* 'eagle-bird,' Phl. *sēnmurv*, New Pers. *sīmurγ*.

ny > *ñj*.

§ 660. The assimilation of *ny* to *ñj* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kanyā* 'girl,' Māg. Prāk. *kaññakā*, Pāiś. Prāk. *kañjā*, *kaññakā*, Pāli *kaññā*, Panj. *kaniā*, Sindhī *kañā*.

ny > *ñ*(*ñ*).

§ 661. The assimilation of *ny* to *ñ*(*ñ*) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kanyā* 'girl,' Māg. Prāk. *kaññakā*, Pāiś. Prāk. *kaṅṅakā*, *kaṅjā*, Pāli *kaññā*, Sindhī *kaṅā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *anya* 'other,' Prāk. *aññа*, *anna*, Pāli *aññа*, Old Hindī *ani*, Siṁh. *aṁk(ak)*, *aṁkek*.

ny > *ṇ(ṇ)*.

§ 662. The assimilation of *ny* to *ṇ(ṇ)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śūnya* 'empty,' Māhār. Prāk. *suṇṇa*, *sunna*, Pāli *suññа*, Ass. *sunā*, Kaśm. *chōnōī*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sūn(ā)*, Panj. *sunn(ā)*, Sindhī *suṅā*, Guj. *śun*, *suṁn*, Mar. *sunā*.

ny > *n(n)*.

§ 663. The assimilation of *ny* to *n(n)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *manyāmi* 'I think,' Jāina Prāk. *mannāmi* (cf. Skt. *manyē*, Prāk. *mannē*, Pāli *maññē*). Skt. *śūnya* 'empty,' Māhār. Prāk. *sunna*, *suṇṇa*, Ass. *sunā*, Kaśm. *chōnōī*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sūn(ā)*, Panj. *sunn(ā)*, Guj. *śun*, *suṁn*, Mar. *sunā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *anya* 'other,' Prāk. *anna*, *aññа*, Old Hindī *ani*, etc. (see § 661).

b. Iranian. Av. *nyāka* 'grandfather,' Old Pers. *apanyāka*, Phl. *nyāk*, New Pers. *niyā*, Afγ. *nīka*, Bal. *nākū*, N. Bal. *nāxō*. Av. *anya* 'other,' Old Pers. *aniya*, Pāz. *han*, Oss. *inna*.

nv > *n(n)*.

§ 664. The assimilation of *nv* to *n(n)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *anvēṣaṇa* 'inquiry,' Māhār. Prāk. *annēsaṇa*.

pt > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 665. The assimilation of *pt* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptaṣaṣṭi* 'sixty-seven,' Prāk. *sattasaṭṭhī*, Kaśm. *satahāiṭh*, Uṛ. *satṣaṭhi*, Bang. *sātṣaṭṭhi*, Bihārī *saṛasaṭh*, *sarasaṭhi*, *satasaṭhi*, Hindī *sarsaṭh*, *satsaṭh*, Panj. *satāhaṭ*, Sindhī *sathaṭhi*, Guj. *saḍsēṭh*, Mar. *satsaṣṭ*.

pt > *t*(*t*).

§ 666. The assimilation of *pt* to *t*(*t*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptan* 'seven,' Prāk., Pāli *satta*, Kaśm. *sath*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī *sāt*, Panj. *satt*, Sindhī *sat*, Guj., Mar. *sāt*, Siṁh. *sata*, *hata*. Skt. *supta* 'asleep,' Prāk., Pāli *sutta*, Sindhī *sutō*.

b. Iranian. Av. √*x*^{v}*ap* 'to sleep,' Phl. *x*^{v}*aftanŏ*, New Pers. *xuftan*, Gab. *xuftmūn*, Zaf. *vōft*, Kāš. *xūt*, Vōn. *xuft*, Kuhr. *xut*, Nāy. *havōftand*, Māz. *xūt*, Waxī *rūxpam*, Šiγn. *šovsam*, Sarq. *xufsam*, Bal. *vapsag*, N. Bal. *vafsaγ*, Dig. Oss. *xussun*, Tag. *xussin*. Phl. *kaftanŏ* 'to fall,' Gab. *kaftmūn*, Kāš. *darkatan*, *darkaftan*, Māz. *dakatan*, Gīl. *bakaftan*, Bal. *kapag*, Kurd. *katin*.

pt > *d*(*d*).

§ 667. The assimilation of *pt* to *d*(*d*) is very rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *supta* 'asleep,' New Pers. *xuftah*, Afγ. *ūda*. Skt. *tapta* 'warm,' New Pers. *taft*, Afγ. *tōd*, S. Oss. *thafth*.

pt > (*d*)*dh*.

§ 668. The assimilation of *pt* to (*d*)*dh* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Phl., New Pers. *haft*, Waxī *hūb*, (*h*)*ub*, Šiγn. *vuvd*, Sarq. *ūvd*, Sangl. *hoft*, Minj. *uð*, Yidg. *avduh*, Yaγn. *av*, Afγ. *ōva*, *ava*, Oss. *avd*, Dig. also *aft*.

pt > *pht*, *ft*.

§ 669. The spirantization of *pt* to *ft* occurs not infrequently in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Phl., New Pers. *haft*, Sangl. *hoft*, Dig. Oss. *aft*, *avd*, etc. (see preceding §).

pt > *phth*, *fth*.

§ 670. The double spirantization of *pt* to *phth*, *fth*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *tapta* 'warm,' S. Oss. *thafth*, etc. (see § 667).

pt > *b*(*b*).

§ 671. The assimilation of *pt* to *b*(*b*) is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Waxi *hūb*, (*h*)*ub*, etc. (see § 668).

pt > *r*(*r*).

§ 672. The assimilation of *pt* to *r*(*r*) is excessively rare (cf. § 230).

a. Indian. Skt. *saptaṣaṣṭi* 'sixty-seven,' Bihārī *sarasaṭhi*, *saṟasaṭh*, *satasaṭhi*, Hindī *sarsaṭh*, *satsaṭh*, etc. (see § 665).

pt > *v*(*v*).

§ 673. The assimilation of *pt* to *v*(*v*) is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Yaγn. *av*, Afγ. *ōva*, *ava*, etc. (see § 668).

pt > *vd*.

§ 674. The softening of the consonant-group *pt* to *vd* is not very common.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Šiγn. *vuvd*, Sarq. *ūvd*, Yidg. *avduh*, Oss. *avd*, etc. (see § 668).

pn > *pp*.

§ 675. The assimilation of *pn* to *pp* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *svapna* 'sleep,' Pāli *soppa*, *supina*. Skt. *prāpnōti* 'obtains,' Prāk. *pāüṇaï*, *pāvaï*, Pāli *pappōti*, *pāpuṇāti*, Uṛ. *pā*, Bang. *pāō*, Old Hindī *pāü*, Hindī *pā*(*v*), Panj. *pāü*, Sindhī *pā*, Guj. *pām*, Mar. *pāv*, Siṁh. *pāmiṇenavā*.

pn > *f*(*f*).

§ 676. The assimilation of *pn* to *f*(*f*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *tafnu* 'heat,' New Pers. *taf*.

pn > *m*(*m*).

§ 677. The assimilation of *pn* to *m*(*m*) is very rare (cf. § 291).

a. Indian. Skt. *prāpnōti* 'obtains,' Siṁh. *pāmiṇenavā*, etc. (see § 675).

pny > *m*(*m*).

§ 678. The assimilation of *pny* to *m*(*m*) is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xšafnya* 'supper,' Phl., New Pers. *šām.*

py > *p*(*p*).

§ 679. The assimilation of *py* to *p*(*p*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kupyati* 'is angry,' Prāk. *kuppaï*, Pāli *kuppati*, Bihārī *kōpāi.* Skt. *tapyatē* 'is warmed,' Pāli *tappati.*

pr > *p*(*p*).

§ 680. The assimilation of *pr* to *p*(*p*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *prati* 'toward,' Prāk. *paḍi*, Pāli *pati*, *paṭi*, New Ind. dialects *paḍ*(*i*). Skt. *apriya* 'offensive,' Prāk. *appia*, Pāli *appiya.* Skt. *prasthāpana* 'sending,' Uṛ. *paṭhāībā*, Bang. *pāṭhān*, Hindī *paṭhānā*, Sindhī *paṭhanu*, Guj. *pāṭhavuṁ*, Mar. *pāṭaviṇēṁ.*

pr > *r*(*r*).

§ 681. The assimilation of *pr* to *r*(*r*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *fra* 'forward,' Phl. *fra*, *far*, New Pers. *far*, *fir*, Pāmir dialects *ra*, Kurd. *hal*, *hil.* Phl. *frōxtanŏ* 'to sell,' New Pers. *furōxtan*, Zaf. *baxrōš* 'sell!' Vōn. *barūš*, Kuhr. *baxrūš*, Samn. *narūšum*, Māz. *rūš*, *rūt*, N. Bal. *šavaškaγ*, *šōškaγ.* Av. *frąš* 'forward,' Phl. *frāc*, Pāz. *frāz*, *fraš*, New Pers. *farāz*, Oss. *razai.*

pr > *hl.*

§ 682. The assimilation of *pr* to *hl* is very rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *jafra* 'deep,' Phl. *žufar*, *žafar*, New Pers. *žarf*, Judaeo-Pers. *zōrf*, Afγ. *žavar*, Bal. *juhl*, Kurd. *žōr*, Zaza *jōr.*

pš > *š*(*š*).

§ 683. The assimilation of *pš* to *š*(*š*) is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *fšarəma* 'shame,' Phl., New Pers. *šarm*, Dig. Oss. *afsarmi*, Tag. *afsarm*. Av. **fšu-pāna* 'shepherd,' Phl. *š*(*u*)*pān*, New Pers. *šubān*, Waxī *spūn*, *šūpūn*, Bal. *sipānk*, N. Bal. *šavānkh*, *šafānkh*.

ps > (*c*)*ch*.

§ 684. The assimilation of *ps* to (*c*)*ch* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *apsarā* 'nymph,' Prāk., Pāli *accharā*, Old Hindī *acharī*, *apchar*, Sindhī *apcharā*. Skt. *jugupsati* 'despises,' Prāk. *du*(*g*)*ucchaï*, *du*(*g*)*uṁchaï*, Pāli *jigucchati*.

ps > *bz*.

§ 685. The softening of *ps* to *bz* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Lit. *vapsà* 'wasp,' Old High Germ. *wafsa*, Bal. *gvabz*, *gvamz*.

ps > *mz*.

§ 686. The assimilation of *ps* to *mz* is extremely rare (cf. § 291).

b. Iranian. Lit. *vapsà* 'wasp,' Bal. *gvamz*, *gvabz*, etc. (see preceding §).

ps > *vs*.

§ 687. The assimilation of *ps* to *vs* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Phl. *afsār* 'headstall,' New Pers. *afsār*, Šiγn., Sarq. *avsār*.

ps > *s*(*s*).

§ 688. The assimilation of *ps* to *s*(*s*) is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *x*^{v}*afsata* 'sleep ye!' Phl. *x*^{v}*afsīṭanŏ*, New Pers. *xuspīdan*, Šiγn. *šorsam*, Sarq. *xufsam*, Bal. *vapsag*, N. Bal. *vafsaγ*, Dig. Oss. *xussun*, Tag. *xussin*.

pstr > *str*.

§ 689. The assimilation of *pstr* to *str* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xrafstra* 'noxious beast,' Phl. *xrafstr*, New Pers. (Pārsi) *xarāstar*, archaic *xrafstar*.

fs > *ps*.

§ 690. The hardening of Iranian *fs* to *ps* occurs very seldom.

b. Iranian. Av. *xᵛafsata* 'sleep ye!' Bal. *vapsag*, etc. (see § 688).

bj > *j*(*j*).

§ 691. The assimilation of *bj* to *j*(*j*) is found but rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Prāk., Pāli *khujja*, Kaśm. *kobb*, Uṛ. *kūjā*, Bang. *ku*(*ṁ*)*jā*, *kubja*, Hindī *kubjā*, *kubbā*, *kubṛā* (rare), Panj. *kubbā*, *kūbā*, Sindhī *kuḃō*, Guj. *kubaṛō*, Mar. *khub*, *kubaḍā*.

bj > *bḍ*.

§ 692. The assimilation of *bj* to *bḍ* is very rare (cf. § 182).

a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Hindī *kubṛā* (rare), *kubbā*, *kubjā*, etc. (see preceding §).

bj > *b*(*b*).

§ 693. The assimilation of *bj* to *b*(*b*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Kaśm. *kobb*, Hindī *kubbā*, *kubjā*, *kubṛā*, Panj. *kubbā*, *kūbā*, Sindhī *kuḃō*, Mar. *khub*, *kubaḍā*, etc. (see § 691).

bd > *d*(*d*).

§ 694. The assimilation of *bd* to *d*(*d*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śabda* 'word,' Prāk., Pāli *sadda*, Old Hindī *sād*.

bdh > (*d*)*dh*.

§ 695. The assimilation of *bdh* to (*d*)*dh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *labdha* 'received,' Prāk., Pāli *laddha*, Sindhī *ladhō*.

br > *b*(*b*).

§ 696. The assimilation of *br* to *b*(*b*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Prāk. *baṁbhaṇa*, inscriptions of Kapur di Giri *bamana*, Jāina Prāk. *māhaṇa*, Pāli *brāhmaṇa*, Bihārī *bāman*, *bāṁhan*, *bāmahan*, Sindhī *bāṁbhaṇu*, Siṁh. *baṁba*.

bhy > (*b*)*bh*.

§ 697. The assimilation of *bhy* to (*b*)*bh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *abhyantara* 'internal,' Prāk., Pāli *abbhantara*, Uṛ., Bang. *bhitari*, Bihārī, Hindī *bhītar*, Guj. *bhitar*, Mar. *bhitari*. Skt. *labhyatē* 'is taken,' Prāk. *labbhaï*, Pāli *labbhati*, Old Hindī *labbh*, Sindhī *labh*.

bhr > *b*(*b*).

§ 698. The assimilation of *bhr* to *b*(*b*) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhramara* 'bee,' Prāk., Pāli *bhamara*, Uṛ. *bhaṁara*, Bang. *bhāmar*, Hindī, Panj. *bhaṁvar*, *bhāuṁr*, Sindhī *bhāuṁru*, Mar. *bhōṁr*, Siṁh. *bambarǎ*.

bhr > (*b*)*bh*.

§ 699. The assimilation of *bhr* to (*b*)*bh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhrātar* 'brother,' Prāk. *bhāā*, Pāli *bhātā*, New Ind. dialects *bhāī*, also Panj. *bhrāū*, Sindhī *bhāū*, Mar. *bhāū*, Gyp. *phral*. Skt. *bhramara* 'bee,' Prāk., Pāli *bhamara*, Uṛ. *bhaṁara*, Bang. *bhāmar*, Hindī, Panj. *bhaṁvar*, *bhāuṁr*, Sindhī *bhāuṁru*, Mar. *bhōṁr*, etc. (see preceding §).

bhr > *vr*.

§ 700. The assimilation of *bhr* to *vr* is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *brātar* 'brother,' Phl. *bhāṭ(ar)*, New Pers. *birādar*, Kāš. *barō*, *barāi*, Gīl. *brār*, Waxī *vrūt*, Šiγn. *virād*, Sarq. *vrōd*, Sangl. *vurd*, Yidg. *vrai*, Yaγn. *virāt*, Afγ. *vrōr*,

Bal. *brāt*, N. Bal. *brās*, *brāʔ*, Kurd. *barā*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*. Av. *awra* 'cloud,' Phl., New Pers. *abr*, Gab., Kāš. *avr*, Judaeo-Pers. *abr*, Afγ. *varyaǰ*, Bal. *havr*, Kurd. *(h)avr*, *hāūr*, Oss. *arv*.

mn > *mm*.

§ 701. The assimilation of *mn* to *mm* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *kamna* 'small,' Phl., New Pers. *kam*.

mp > *p*(*p*).

§ 702. The assimilation of *mp* to *p*(*p*) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *parampara* 'reciprocal,' Pāli *parampara*, Siṁh. *parapura*. Skt. *campaka* 'sort of tree,' Apab. Prāk. *caṁpayu*, Pāli *campaka*, Siṁh. *sapu*.

mp > *mb*.

§ 703. The softening of *mp* to *mb* is quite a frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kampati* 'trembles,' Prāk. *kampaï*, Pāli *kampati*, Ass. *kaṁp*, Kaśm. *kam*(*p*), Uṛ. *kamp*, Bang. *kāṁp*, Hindī *kāṁp*, Panj. *kamb*, Sindhī *kaṁb*, Guj., Mar. *kāṁp*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ham̨pāfrāiti* (intens.) 'fills,' Phl., New Pers. *ambāštan* (written *anbāštan*).

mb > *b*(*b*).

§ 704. The assimilation of *mb* to *b*(*b*) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kambala* 'blanket,' Prāk., Pāli *kambala*, Uṛ. *kamaḷa*, Bang. *kambal*, *kaṁli*, E. Hindī *kammar*, Hindī *kammal*, *kaṁbal*, Panj. *kammaḷ*, *kaṁbaḷ*, Sindhī *kamari*, Guj. *kābaḷō*, *kāmaḷ*, *kamaḷī*, Mar. *kāṁbaḷā*.

mb > *m*(*m*).

§ 705. The assimilation of *mb* to *m*(*m*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ālambana* 'support,' Pāli *ārammana*. Skt. *jambuka* 'rose-apple,' Ass. *jāmu*, Bang. *jām*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *jāmun*, Sindhī *jamūn*, Guj. *jāṁbu*, Mar. *jāṁb*. Skt. *kambala* 'blanket,' Ur. *kamaḷa*, E. Hindī *kammar*, Hindī *kammal*, *kaṁbal*, Panj. *kammaḷ*, *kaṁbaḷ*, Sindhī *kamari*, Guj. *kāmaḷ*, *kamaḷī*, *kābalō*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *nimba* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *liṁba*, Pāli *nimba*, Bihārī *nīm*, Hindī *līm*, *nīm*, Sindhī *limu*, Guj. *liṁbaḍō*, Mar. *liṁb*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *šikumb* 'stomach,' New Pers. *šikum*, Kurd. *zik*. New Pers. *hambāz* 'comrade,' Kurd. *hamēs*, *xamīz*.

mbh > *m*(*m*).

§ 706. The assimilation of *mbh* to *m*(*m*) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kumbhakāra* 'potter,' Prāk. *kumbhaāra*, *kumbhāra*, Pāli *kumbhakāra*, Ass. *kumār*, Nāip. *kumāṁlyē*, Ur. *kumhāra*, *kuhmāra*, Bang. *kumār*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *kumhār*, Sindhī *kuṁbharu*, Guj., Mar. *kumbhār*.

mbh > *mh*.

§ 707. The assimilation of *mbh* to *mh* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kumbhakāra* 'potter,' Ur. *kumhāra*, *kuhmāra*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *kumhār*, etc. (see preceding §).

mbh > *hm*.

§ 708. The assimilation of *mbh* to *hm* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kumbhakāra* 'potter,' Ur. *kuhmāra*, *kumhāra*, etc. (see § 706).

mr > *mbr* > *mb*.

§ 709. Insertion of *b* in the group *mr* and subsequent assimilation to *mb* is found in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tāmra* 'copper,' Prāk. *tamba*, *tambira*, Pāli *tamba*, Ass. *tām*, Kaśm. *trām*, Ur. *tāmā*, *tāṁbā*, Bang. *tāmā*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *tāmā*, *tāṁbā*, Sindhī *ṭāmō*, Guj. *tāṁbuṁ*, Mar. *tāṁbēṁ*, Siṁh. *taṁbara*. Skt. *āmra* 'mango,' Prāk., Pāli

amba, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī *ām*, *aṁb*, Panj. *amab*, Sindhī *aṁbu*, Laṛī *āmō*, *āmū*, Guj. *āṁbō*, Mar. *ăṁbā*, Siṁh. *aṁba*.

mr > *mbr* > *m*(*m*).

§ 710. Insertion of *b* in the group *mr* and subsequent assimilation to *m*(*m*) is found in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tāmra* 'copper,' Ass. *tām*, Kaśm. *trām*, Uṛ. *tāmā*, *tāṁbā*, Bang. *tāmā*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *tāmā*, *tāṁbā*, Sindhī *ṭāmō*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *āmra* 'mango,' Uṛ., Bang. *ām*, *aṁb*, Laṛī *āmō*, *āmū*, etc. (see preceding §).

mv > *m*(*m*).

§ 711. The assimilation of *mv* to *m*(*m*) is very rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *hamvārah* 'ever' beside *hamārah*.

ṁh > *ṁgh*.

§ 712. The assimilation of *ṁh* to *ṁgh* is found occasionally in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *siṁha* 'lion,' Prāk. *sīha*, Māhār. Prāk. *siṁgha*, *sīha*, Pāli *sīha*, Gāthā *sīṁha*, Kaśm. *suh*, Bihārī, E. Hindī *sĭṁgh*, *siɔgh*, *sīṁh*, Panj. *siṁgh*, other New Ind. dialects *siṁh* (pron. and often written *siṁgh*).

rk > *k*(*k*).

§ 713. The assimilation of *rk* to *k*(*k*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects, but it is very rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *arka* 'sun,' Prāk., Pāli *akka*. Skt. *karkara* 'gravel,' Ass., Nāip. *kāṁkar*, Bang. *kăṁkar*. Skt. *karkaṭa* 'crab,' Pāli *kakkaṭaka*, Uṛ., Bang. *kāṁkaṛā*, E. Hindī *kĕkarā*, *kĕkaṛā*, Hindī *kāṁkarā*, Sindhī *kāṁkaṛō*. Skt. *karkaṭikā* 'cucumber,' Uṛ., Bang. *kā*(*ṁ*)*kuḍī*, Hindī, Panj. *ka*(*k*)*kaḍī*, Sindhī *kakiḍī*, Guj., Mar. *kākaḍī*. Skt. *śarkara* 'sugar,' Pāli *sakkara*, *sakkhara*, New Ind. dialects *sakkar*, except Mar. *sākhar*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *sirkah* 'vinegar' beside *sikah*.

rk > (*k*)*kh*.

§ 714. The assimilation of *rk* to (*k*)*kh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śarkara* 'sugar,' Pāli *sakkhara*, *sakkara*, Mar. *sākhar*, etc. (see preceding §).

rk > *t*(*t*).

§ 715. The change of *rk* to *t*(*t*) is extremely rare (cf. § 119 ?).

a. Indian. Skt. *kurkura* 'dog' besides *kukkura*, Pāli *kukkura*, Bang. *kuttā*, *kukkur*, Bihārī *kutta*, *kuk*(*k*)*ar*, Hindī *kuttā*, *kukkā*, Sindhī *kutō*, Guj. *kutrō*, Mar. *kutrā*.

rk > *tr*.

§ 716. The change of *rk* to *tr* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kurkura*, *kukkura* 'dog,' Guj. *kutrō*, Mar. *kutrā*, etc. (see preceding §).

rg > *g*(*g*).

§ 717. The assimilation of *rg* to *g*(*g*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *varga* 'row,' Prāk., Pāli *vagga*. Skt. *mārgayati* 'seeks,' Prāk. *maggaï*, Pāli *maggati*, *maggēti*, Ass. *māg*, Kaśm. *maṁg*, Ur. *māg*, Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *māṁg*, Panj. *maṁg*, Sindhī *maṅ*, Guj., Mar. *māg*, Gyp. *mang*.

rgr > (*g*)*gh*.

§ 718. The assimilation of *rgr* to (*g*)*gh* is found but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *nirgrantha* 'ascetic,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Delhi) *nighaṁta*.

rgh > *g*(*g*).

§ 719. The assimilation of *rgh* to *g*(*g*) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mahārgha* 'costly,' Pāli *mahaggha*, Ass. *mahaṁgā*, *magar*, E. Hindī, Hindī *mahaṁgā*, Panj. *mahiṁgā*, Sindhī *mahaṁgō*, Guj. *mōṁghuṁ*, Mar. *mahāg*, Māladive *agu*.

rgh > (*g*)*gh*.

§ 720. The assimilation of *rgh* to (*g*)*gh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nirghṛṇa* 'pitiless,' Prāk. *nigghiṇa*. Skt. *argha* 'sacrifice,' Pāli *aggha*. Skt. *dīrgha* 'long,' Prāk. *diggha*, *dīha*, Pāli *dīgha*, Sindhī *ḍrighō*.

rgh > *h*(*h*).

§ 721. The assimilation of *rgh* to *h*(*h*) is extremely rare (cf. § 152).

a. Indian. Skt. *dīrgha* 'long,' Prāk. *dīha*, *diggha*, etc. (see preceding §).

rj > *j*(*j*).

§ 722. The assimilation of *rj* to *j*(*j*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *garjita* 'must-elephant,' Prāk. *gajjida*, Pāli *gajjita*. Skt. *garjana* 'thunder,' Pāli *gajjana*, Hindī *gājanā*, Panj. *gajjaṇā*, Sindhī *gajaṇu*, Guj. *gājavuṁ*, Mar. *gājaṇēṁ*.

rj > *rz*.

§ 723. The change of *rj* to *rz* is very rare (cf. § 185).

b. Iranian. Av. *arəjah* 'value,' Phl. *arj*, Pāz. *arzān*, New Pers. *arz*, Kāš. *ašū*, *ajiyā*, *ajiyō*, Afγ. *yarz*.

rj > *ž*(*ž*).

§ 724. The assimilation of *rj* to *ž*(*ž*) is extremely rare (cf. § 186).

b. Iranian. Av. *arəjah* 'value,' Kāš. *ašū*, *ajiyā*, *ajiyō*, etc. (see preceding §).

rjh > (*j*)*jh*.

§ 725. The assimilation of *rjh* to (*j*)*jh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nirjhara* 'cascade,' Prāk., Pāli *nijjhara*.

rṇ > *ṇ*(*ṇ*).

§ 726. The assimilation of *rṇ* to *ṇ*(*ṇ*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *suvarṇa* 'gold,' Prāk. *suvaṇṇa*, Pāli *soṇṇa*, *svaṇṇa*, Kaśm. *son*, Uṛ. *sunā*, *sōnā*, Bang. *sōṇā*, Hindī, Panj. *sōnā*, Sindhī *sō(ṁ)nu*, Guj. *sōnu*, Mar. *sāunaṁ*, *sōnēṁ*, Gyp. *somnakāy*.

rṇ > *n(n)*.

§ 727. The assimilation of *rṇ* to *n(n)* is very frequent in the New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *karṇa* 'ear,' Pāli *kaṇṇa*, Uṛ., Bang., Bihārī, Hindī *kān*, Panj. *kann*, Sindhī *kanu*, Guj., Mar. *kan*, Gyp. *kan*. Skt. *tāmraparṇa* 'copper-leaf, Ceylon,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Girnar, Khālsi, and Kapur di Giri) *tāṁbapa(ṁ)ni*, Pāli *tambapaṇṇī* (Gr. Ταπροβάνη). Skt. *suvarṇa* 'gold,' Kaśm. *son*, Uṛ. *sunā*, *sōnā*, Hindī, Panj. *sōnā*, Sindhī *sō(ṁ)nu*, Guj. *sōnu*, Mar. *sāunaṁ*, *sōnēṁ*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *ūrṇa* 'wool,' Pāli *uṇṇa*, Hindī *ūn*, Panj. *unn*, Sindhī, Guj. *un*.

rṇ > *r(r)*.

§ 728. The assimilation of *rṇ* to *r(r)* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *cūrṇa* 'powder,' Prāk., Pāli *cuṇṇa*, Kaśm. *čūn*, Uṛ. *curā*, Bang. *cūr*, Hindī *cūrā*, Panj. *cūr*, Sindhī *cūrō*, Guj. *curō*, Mar. *cūr*, but also with the signification 'lime,' Uṛ., Bang. *cunā*, Hindī, Panj. *cūnā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cūnō*, *cūṇō*, Mar. *cunā*, *cūṇā*. Skt. *pūrṇa* 'full,' Pāli *puṇṇa*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *pūrā*, Sindhī *pūrō*, Guj. *purō*, Mar. *purā*.

rt > *rth*.

§ 729. The aspirization of *rt* to *rth* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Phl. *sarṯ*, New Pers. *sard*, Waxī *sūr(ī)*, Afγ. *sōṛ*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sarth*, Kurd. *sār*, Tag. Oss. *sald*.

rt > *ṭ(ṭ)*.

§ 730. The assimilation of *rt* to *ṭ(ṭ)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nartakī* 'dancing-girl,' Prāk. *naṭṭaī*, Pāli

naṭṭakī, New Ind. dialects *naṭī*. Skt. *vartakā* 'quail,' Pāli *vaṭṭakā*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *vaṭēr*, Sindhī *baṭērō*, Siṁh. *vaṭuvā*.

rt > *ḍ*(*ḍ*).

§ 731. The assimilation of *rt* to *ḍ*(*ḍ*) is extremely rare (cf. § 226).

a. Indian. Skt. *garta* 'ditch,' Prāk. *gaḍḍa*, Uṛ. *gaḍibā*, Bang. *gaḍ*, Hindī *gaḍ*, *gāḍā*, Panj. *gaḍḍanā*, Sindhī *gāṛaṇu*, Guj. *gāṛavuṁ*, Mar. *gāṛaṇēṁ*.

rt > *ṭ*(*ṭ*).

§ 732. The assimilation of *rt* to *ṭ*(*ṭ*) is very common in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *muhūrta* 'instant,' Prāk., Pāli *muhutta*. Skt. *āvarta* 'whirlpool,' Pāli *āvatta*, *āvaṭṭa*. Skt. *vartikā* 'wick,' Prāk. *vattiā*, Pāli *vaṭṭikā*, Uṛ. *bati*, Bang. *bātī*, Hindī, Panj. *battī*, Sindhī *vaṭi*, Guj. *bati*, Mar. *batti*. Skt. *kartarī* 'scissors,' Prāk. *kattarī*, Uṛ. *katurā*, Bang. *kataran*, Hindī, Panj. *kataranī*, Sindhī *katari*, Mar. *kātar*.

rt > *d*(*d*).

§ 733. The assimilation of *rt* to *d*(*d*) is extremely rare (cf. § 228).

b. Iranian. Av. *karəta* 'knife,' Phl. *kārd*, New Pers. *kārd*, Šiyn. *cēd*, Kurd. *kird*, *kīr*, Oss. *khard*.

rt > *rd*.

§ 734. The softening of *rt* to *rd* is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karəta* 'knife,' New Pers. *kārd*, Kurd. *kird*, *kīr*, Oss. *khard*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vartakā* 'quail,' Phl. *varṭak*, New Pers. *vardāj*, Waxī *volc*, Afy. *nvaṛaz*, Bal. *gvardāg*, Kurd. *vardī*.

rt > *r*(*r*).

§ 735. The assimilation of *rt* to *r*(*r*) is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Waxī *sūr*(*ī*), Kurd. *sār*, etc.

(see § 729). Av. *karəta* 'knife,' Kurd. *kīr*, *kīrd*, etc. (see § 733).

rt > *l*(*l*).

§ 736. The assimilation of *rt* to *l*(*l*) is extremely rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *pərətu* 'bridge,' Phl. *puhr*, *puhl*, New Pers. *pul*, Gīl. *purd*, Kurd. *pēl*, *par*, *pird*, *purd*.

rt > *ld*.

§ 737. The softening of *rt* to *ld* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Tag. Oss. *sald*, etc. (see § 729).

rt > *hl*.

§ 738. The change of *rt* to *hl* is found occasionally (cf. §§ 227, 742).

b. Iranian. Av. *pərətu* 'bridge,' Phl. *puhl*, *puhr*, etc. (see § 736).

rth > *ṭ*(*ṭ*).

§ 739. The assimilation of *rth* to *ṭ*(*ṭ*) is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *artha* 'object,' Prāk. *attha*, *aṭṭha* (cf. inscriptions of Kapur di Giri *anaṭha*), Pāli *aṭṭa*, *aṭṭha*, *attha*. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *cottha*, Pāli *catuttha*, Uṛ. *cāuṭhā*, Bang. *cāuṭā*, Hindī, Panj. *cāuthā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāuṁthā*.

rth > (*ṭ*)*ṭh*.

§ 740. The assimilation of *rth* to (*ṭ*)*ṭh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *artha* 'object,' Prāk. *aṭṭha*, *attha* (Kapur di Giri) *anaṭha*, Pāli *aṭṭha*, *attha*, *aṭṭa*. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *cauṭṭha*, *cottha*, Śāur. Prāk. *caduṭṭha*, Uṛ. *cāuṭhā*, etc. (see preceding §).

rth > (*ṭ*)*th*.

§ 741. The assimilation of *rth* to (*ṭ*)*th* is the normal one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *cottha*, Pāli *catuttha*,

Hindī, Panj. *cāutha*, Sindhī, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāuṁthā*, etc. (see § 739).

rth > *hl*.

§ 742. The change of *rth* to *hl* occurs with extreme rarity in the Iranian dialects (cf. §§ 354, 245, 956).

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *parthava* nom. prop., Phl., New Pers. *pahlav*. Skt. *samartha* 'suitable,' New Pers. *hamāl*.

rd > *ḍ*(*ḍ*)

§ 743. The assimilation of *rd* to *ḍ*(*ḍ*) is quite frequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *chardati* 'rejects,' Prāk. *chaḍḍati*, Pāli *chaḍḍēti*, Ass. *cār* (pron. *sār*), Kaśm. *char*, *čar*, Uṛ., Bang. *chāṛ*, Old Hindī *chaṁd*, E. Hindī, Hindī *chāṁṛ*, Panj. *chaḍḍ*, Sindhī *chaḍ̄*, Mar. *sāṁṛ*. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gaḍḍaha*, *gaddaha*, Pāli *gadrabha*, but *gaddabhaṇḍa*, Ass. *gādh*, Nāip. *gadāha*, Uṛ. *gadhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, E. Hindī, Hindī *gadhā*, Panj. *gadhā*, *gaddā*, Sindhī *gaḍ̄āhu*, Guj. *gadhēṛō*, Mar. *gāḍhav*, Gyp. *khel*, *kher*, (*k*)*fer*.

rd > (*ḍ*)*ḍh*.

§ 744. The assimilation of *rd* to (*ḍ*)*ḍh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Mar. *gāḍhav*, etc. (see preceding §).

rd > *d*(*d*).

§ 745. The assimilation of *rd* to *d*(*d*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *caturdaśa* 'fourteen,' Prāk. *cauddaha*, Pāli *catuddasa*, *cōddasa*, *cuddasa*, Kaśm. *čödāh*, Uṛ. *cāuda*, Bang. *cāudda*, Bihārī, Hindī *cāudah*, Panj. *cāudām*, Sindhī *cōḍahaṁ*, Guj. *caūd*, Mar. *cāudā*. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gaddaha*, *gaḍḍaha*, Nāip. *gadāha*, Panj. *gaddā*, *gadhā*, etc. (see § 743).

rd > (*d*)*dh*.

§ 746. The assimilation of *rd* to (*d*)*dh* is not frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Ass. *gādh*, Uṛ. *gadhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, E. Hindī, Hindī *gadhā*, Panj. *gadhā*, *gaddā*, Guj. *gadhēṛō*, etc. (see § 743).

rd > *r*(*r*).

§ 747. The assimilation of *rd* to *r*(*r*) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kapardikā* 'small shell,' Prāk. *kavaḍḍa*, E. Hindī, Hindī *kāurī*, *kāuṛī*, Anglo-Ind. *cowry*.

rd > *l*(*l*).

§ 748. The assimilation of *rd* to *l*(*l*) is exceedingly rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, it is not infrequent (cf. §§ 354, 258).

a. Indian. Skt. *balivarda* 'bull,' Prāk. *baïlla*.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarəδa* 'year,' Phl., New Pers. *sāl*, Dig. Oss. *sarda*, Tag. *sard*.

rdh > *ḍ*(*ḍ*).

§ 749. The assimilation of *rdh* to *ḍ*(*ḍ*) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vardhatē* 'grows,' Prāk. *vaḍḍhaï*, Pāli *vaḍḍhati*, Ass. *bāṛh*, Kaśm. *baḍ*, Uṛ. *baṛh*, Bang. *baḍ*, E. Hindī, Hindī *bāḍh*, W. Hindī *baṛh*, Panj., Sindhī, Guj. *vadh*, Mar. *bāḍh*. Skt. *sārdha* 'plus one-half,' Prāk. *saddha*, *saḍḍha*, Kaśm. *sādü*, Uṛ. *sāṛhē*, Bang. *sāṛē*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sāṛhē*, Panj. *sāḍhē*, Sindhī *sāḍhā*, Guj. *sāḍā*, Mar. *sāḍē*, Siṁh. *aḍa*.

rdh > (*ḍ*)*ḍh*.

§ 750. The assimilation of *rdh* to (*ḍ*)*ḍh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vardhatē* 'grows,' Prāk. *vaḍḍhaï*, Pāli *vaḍḍhati*, Ass. *bāṛh*, Uṛ. *baṛh*, E. Hindī, Hindī *bāḍh*, W. Hindī *baṛh*, Mar. *bāḍh*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vardhaki* 'carpenter,' Uṛ., Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *baṛhāi*, Panj. *baḍḍhī*, Sindhī, Guj. *vāḍhō*, Mar. *vaṛhaï*. Skt. *sārdha* 'plus one-half,' Prāk. *saḍḍha*,

saddha, Uṛ., E. Hindī, Hindī *sāṛhē*, Panj. *sāḍhē*, Sindhī *sāḍhā*, etc. (see preceding §).

rdh > (*d*)*dh*.

§ 751. The assimilation of *rdh* to (*d*)*dh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vardhatē* 'grows,' Panj., Sindhī, Guj. *vadh*, etc. (see § 749).

rdhv > (*d*)*dh*.

§ 752. The assimilation of *rdhv* to (*d*)*dh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ūrdhva* 'high,' Prāk., Pāli *uddha*, *ubbha*, Sindhī *ubhō*, Guj. *ubhuṁ*, Mar. *ubhā*.

rdhv > (*b*)*bh*.

§ 753. The assimilation of *rdhv* to (*b*)*bh* is frequent in the Indian dialects (*rdhv* > *ddhv* > *ddhb* > *dhb* > *bbh*).

a. Indian. Skt. *ūrdhva* 'high,' Prāk., Pāli *ubbha*, *uddha*, Sindhī *ubhō*, Guj. *ubhuṁ*, Mar. *ubhā*.

rn > *ṇ*(*ṇ*).

§ 754. The assimilation of *rn* to *ṇ*(*ṇ*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in Afγān, which has borrowed the cerebral row from the Indian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karəna* 'deaf,' New Pers. *kar*(*r*), Laγm. *kanna*, Sarq. *cünn*, Afγ. *kōṇ*, *kūṇ*, Oss. *kurmatha*. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Phl., New Pers. *par*(*r*), Gab., Waxī *par*, Afγ. *pāṇa*, Bal. *pan*, Kurd. *par*, Zaza *pal*.

rn > *n*(*n*).

§ 755. The assimilation of *rn* to *n*(*n*) is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karəna* 'deaf,' Laγm. *kanna*, Sarq. *cünn*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *ūrṇa* 'wool,' Šiγn. *vūn*, *vōn*, Sarq. *vōn*. Av. *pərəna* 'full,' Phl., New Pers. *pur*, Yaγn. *pun*. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Bal. *pan*, etc. (see preceding §).

rn > *r*(*r*).

§ 756. The assimilation of *rn* to *r*(*r*) is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *darəna* 'gullet,' New Pers. *darrah*, Waxi *δōr*, Sarq. *δar*. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Phl., New Pers. *par*(*r*), Gab., Waxi, Kurd. *par*, etc. (see § 754). Av. *x*^{v}*arənah* 'glory,' Old Pers. *vi̯da*]*farnah*, Phl. *farn*[*bag*, New Pers. *far*(*r*).

rn > *l*(*l*).

§ 757. The assimilation of *rn* to *l*(*l*) is very rare (cf. §§ 354, 281).

b. Iranian. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Zaza *pal*, etc. (see § 754).

rp > *p*(*p*).

§ 758. The assimilation of *rp* to *p*(*p*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarpa* 'serpent,' Prāk., Pāli *sappa*, Uṛ., Bang. *sāp*, Hindī *sāṁp*, Panj. *sapp*, Sindhī *sapu*, Guj., Mar. *sāp*, Siṁh. *sapu*, *sap*(*ā*), *hapu*, Gyp. *sap*. Skt. *karpūra* 'camphor,' Prāk., Pāli *kappūra*, New Ind. dialects *kapūr*, except Mar. *kāpūr*.

rb > *b*(*b*).

§ 759. The assimilation of *rb* to *b*(*b*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *arbuda* 'ten million raised to the eighth power,' Pāli *abbuda*. Skt. *durbala* 'weak,' Prāk., Pāli *dubbala*, Bang. *dublā*, Bihārī *dubarā*, *dūbar*, Hindī *dublā*, Panj. *dubbal*, Sindhī *ḍubīrō*, *ḍabalō*, Guj., Mar. *dubaḷ*.

rbh > (*b*)*bh*.

§ 760. The assimilation of *rbh* to (*b*)*bh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dial

a. Indian. Skt. *garbha* 'uterus,' Prāk., Pāli *gabbha*, Hindī *garabh*, *gābh*, Panj. *gabbh*, *gābh*, *garabh*, Sindhī *gābhu*, *garabhu*, Guj., Mar. *gābh*, cf. also Gyp. *khabnī* 'pregnant.'

rm > *m*(*m*).

§ 761. The assimilation of *rm* to *m*(*m*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *carman* 'skin,' Prāk., Pāli *camma*, New Ind. dialects *cām*, excepting Panj. *camm*, Sindhī *camu*, Siṁh. *sama*, *hama*. Skt. *karman* 'deed,' Prāk., Pāli *kamma*, New Ind. dialects *kām*, excepting Panj. *kamm*, Sindhī *kamu*, Siṁh. *kama*.

rm > *r*(*r*).

§ 762. The assimilation of *rm* to *r*(*r*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *carəman* 'skin,' Phl. *carmīn*, New Pers. *carm*, Afγ. *čarman*, Tag. Oss. *čar*, *čarm*. Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Old Pers. *garma-*, New Pers., Šiγn. *garm*, Sarq. *gürm*, *žürm*, Afγ. *γārma*, Bal. *garm*, Dig. Oss. *γar*, *γarm*, Tag. *qarm*.

ry > *j*(*j*).

§ 763. The assimilation of *ry* to *j*(*j*) is very rare (cf. § 331).

a. Indian. Skt. *kārya* 'business,' Prāk. *kajja*, Māg. Prāk. *kayyē*, Śāur. Prāk. *kēra*, Pāli *kayya*, *kāriya*, *kayira*, Hindī, Panj. *kāj*, *kāraj*, Sindhī *kārju*, Guj. *kāj*, *kāraj*, Mar. *kāj*.

ry > *r*(*r*).

§ 764. The assimilation of *ry* to *r*(*r*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tūrya* 'trumpet,' Prāk. *tūra*, Pāli *tūriya*, Uṛ. *turī*, Bang. *turum*, Hindī *tūrī*, *tūrahī*, Panj. *tūram*, Sindhī, Guj. *turī*. Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Prāk. *sujja*, *sūria*, Pāli *suriya*, Hindī, Panj. *sūraj*, Sindhī *sūrju*, *sūriju*, Guj. *sūr*, *suraj*, Siṁh. (*h*)*iru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *cirya* 'brave,' Phl., New Pers. *cīr*. Av. *airya* 'noble,' Oss. *ir*.

ry > *rj*.

§ 765. The change of *ry* to *rj* is not unknown to the Indian dialects (cf. § 331).

a. Indian. Skt. *kārya* 'business,' Sindhī *kārju* (cf. also Hindī, Panj., Guj. *kāraj*, *kāj*), etc. (see § 763). Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Sindhī *sūrju*, *sūriju* (cf. also Hindī, Panj. *sūraj*, Guj. *suraj*, *sūr*), etc. (see preceding §).

ry > *l*(*l*).

§ 766. The assimilation of *ry* to *l*(*l*) occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects (cf. § 354).

a. Indian. Skt. *paryaṅka* 'bed,' Prāk. *pallaṁka*, Ardhamāg. Prāk. *paliaṁka*, Pāli *pallaṁka*, New Ind. *palaṁg*, Anglo-Ind. *palanquin*. Skt. *paryāṇa* 'saddle,' Prāk. *pallāṇa*, U̱r. *palāṇa*, Bang. *pālāṇ*, Hindī *pālān*, Panj. *palāṇ*, Sindhī *palāṇu*, Guj. *palāṇ*(*ō*), Mar. *pālāṇ*.

rv > *p*(*p*).

§ 767. The hardening of *rv* to *p*(*p*) is very rare (cf. § 372).

a. Indian. Skt. *carvayati* 'chews,' Pāli *cappēti*, U̱r. *cōbā*, Bang., Hindī *cāb*, Panj. *cabb*, Sindhī *cab̆*, Guj., Mar. *cāv*, Siṁh. *sapanavā*, *hapanavā*.

rv > *b*(*b*).

§ 768. The assimilation of *rv* to *b*(*b*) is not very frequent (cf. § 372).

a. Indian. Skt. *carvayati* 'chews,' U̱r. *cōbā*, Bang., Hindī *cāb*, Panj. *cabb*, Sindhī *cab̆*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *parvata* 'mountain,' Pāli *pabbata*, Siṁh. *pava*. Skt. *sarva* 'all,' Prāk. *savva*, Pāli *sabba*, Ass. *sab*, U̱r. *sabu*, Bang. *sab*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sab*, *sabh*, Panj. *sabh*, *sarab*, Sindhī *sabhu*, Gyp. *savorō*.

rv > (*b*)*bh*.

§ 769. The assimilation of *rv* to (*b*)*bh* is extremely rare (cf. § 373).

a. Indian. Skt. *sarva* 'all,' Hindī, E. Hindī *sabh*, *sab*, Panj. *sabh*, *sarab*, Sindhī *sabhu*, etc. (see preceding §).

rv > *rbh*.

§ 770. The change of *rv* to *rbh* is exceedingly rare (cf. § 373).

a. Indian. Skt. *parvan* 'festival,' Pāli *pabba*, U̱r., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *parab*, Sindhī *pirbhu*, Guj., Mar. *parv*.

rv > *r*(*r*).

§ 771. The assimilation of *rv* to *r*(*r*) is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *haurva* 'all,' Old Pers. *haruva*, Phl., New Pers. *har*.

rv > *v*(*v*).

§ 772. The assimilation of *rv* to *v*(*v*) is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarva* 'all,' Prāk. *savva*, etc. (see § 768). Skt. *parvata* 'mountain,' Siṁh. *pava*, etc. (see § 768).

b. Iranian. New Pers. *yārvar* 'friend' besides *yāvar*.

rś > *ṁs*.

§ 773. The change of *rś* to *ṁs* is very rare in Indian.

a. Indian. Skt. *darśana* 'sight,' Prāk. *daṁsana*, Ass. *darsana* (pron. *darhana*), Sindhī *darsaṇu*.

rś > *s*(*s*).

§ 774. The assimilation of *rś* to *s*(*s*) is quite common in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sparśana* 'touch,' Prāk. *phāsa*, Pāli *phassa*, Hindī, Panj. *phaṁsaṇā*, Sindhī *phasaṇu*, Guj. *phasavuṁ*, Mar. *phasaṇēṁ*.

rśv > *s*(*s*).

§ 775. The assimilation of *rśv* to *s*(*s*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pārśva* 'side,' Prāk. *pāsa*, Hindī *pās*, Panj. *pās*, *pāh*, Sindhī, Guj. *pāsē*, Mar. *pālas*, *pāsiṁ*, Gyp. *paš*.

rśv > *h*(*h*).

§ 776. The assimilation of *rśv* to *h*(*h*) is exceedingly rare (cf. § 401).

a. Indian. Skt. *pārśva* 'side,' Panj. *pāh*, *pās*, etc. (see preceding §).

rṣ > *(ḍ)ḍh.*

§ 777. The assimilation of *rṣ* to *(ḍ)ḍh* is very rare (cf. § 351).

a. Indian. Skt. *karṣaṇa* 'dragging,' Uṛ. *kāṛhibā*, Bang. *kāṛhan*, Hindī *kāṛhnā*, Panj. *kaṛṛhanā*, Sindhī *kaṛhaṇu*, Guj. *kāhāṛavuṁ*, Mar. *kāṛhaṇēṁ*.

rṣ > *r(r).*

§ 778. The assimilation of *rṣ* to *r(r)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mārgaśīrṣa* 'November–December,' Apab. Prāk. *maggasiru*, Uṛ. *māg(h)uśīra*, *magusara*, Panj. *maghar*, Sindhī *maṁghīru*.

rš > *rs.*

§ 779. The change of *rš* to *rs* is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 428).

b. Iranian. Av. *barəša* 'mane,' Phl., New Pers. *buš*, Afγ. *vraš*, Bal. *bušk*, Dig. Oss. *barsa*, Tag. *bars*.

rṣ > *ś(ṣ).*

§ 780. The assimilation of *rṣ* to *ś(ṣ)* is very rare (cf. § 407).

a. Indian. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Prāk. *sissa*, *sīsa*, Pāli *sīsa*, Hindī, Panj. *sīs*, Sindhī *sisī*, Guj. *śīś*, Mar. *śī(ṁ)s*, Siṁh. *sis*, *his*, *isa*, *iha*.

rṣ, *rš* > *ṣ(ṣ)*, *š(š).*

§ 781. The assimilation of *rṣ*, *rš* to *ṣ(ṣ)*, *š(š)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *varṣa* 'year,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *vaṣa*, *varṣa*, lit. Prāk. *vāsa*, Pāli *vassa*, Gyp. *berš*, *breš*.

b. Iranian. Av. *barəša* 'mane,' Phl., New Pers. *buš*, Bal. *bušk*, etc. (see § 779). Av. *karšayən* 'they may drag,' Phl. *kašīṭanð*, New Pers. *kašīdan*, Afγ. *kšal*, Bal. *kašag*, N. Bal. *khašaγ*, Kurd. *kišān*.

rṣ > *s(s).*

§ 782. The assimilation of *rṣ* to *s(s)* occurs frequently in the Indian dialects (cf. § 408).

a. Indian. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Prāk. *sissa*, *sīsa*, li *sīsa*, Hindī, Panj. *sīs*, Sindhī *sisī*, Mar. *śī(ṁ)s*, Siṁh. *sis*, *his*, *isa*, *iha*, etc. (see § 780).

rṣ > *h(h)*.

§ 783. The assimilation of *rṣ* to *h(h)* is excessively rare (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *kārṣāpaṇa* 'a certain coin,' Prāk. *kāhāvaṇa*, Pāli *kahāpaṇa*, Uṛ. *kāhāṇa*, Bang. *kāhaṇ*, Hindī *kahān*. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Siṁh. *iha*, *isa*, *sis*, *his*, etc. (see § 780). Skt. *varṣati* 'rains,' Pāli *vassati*, Siṁh. *vahinu*, Māladive *vehenī*.

ršn > *kh*, *x*.

§ 784. The assimilation of *ršn* to *kh*, *x*, is very rare (cf. § 922).

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Waxī *tax(ī)*, Šiyn. *tāšna*, Sarq. *tūr(ī)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afγ. *taśai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thunī*, Kurd. *tī*, *tanī*.

ršn > *n(n)*.

§ 785. The assimilation of *ršn* to *n(n)* is quite rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thunī*, Kurd. *tanī*, *tī*, etc. (see preceding §).

ršn > *r(r)*.

§ 786. The assimilation of *ršn* to *r(r)* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Sarq. *tūr(ī)*, etc. (see § 784).

ršn > *rs*.

§ 787. The assimilation of *ršn* to *rs* is excessively rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *varšni* 'virile,' Phl. *gušan*, New Pers. *gušn*, Tag. Oss. *urs*, S. Oss. *vurs*.

ršn > *rs*.

§ 788. The assimilation of *ršn* to *rs* is most rare (cf. § 925).

b. Iranian. Av. *varšni* 'virile,' S. Oss. *vurs*, etc. (see preceding §).

ršn > *š*(*š*).

§ 789. The assimilation of *ršn* to *š*(*š*) is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' New Pers. *tiš*, etc. (see § 784).

ršn > *šn*.

§ 790. The reduction of *ršn* to *šn* is quite common.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, Šiγn. *tāšna*, Yidg. *trušna*, etc. (see § 784). Av. *varšni* 'virile,' Phl. *gušan*, New Pers. *gušn*, etc. (see § 787).

ršn > *š*(*š*).

§ 791. The assimilation of *ršn* to *š*(*š*) is extremely rare (cf. § 429).

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Afγ. *tašai*, etc. (see § 784).

ršv > *šv*.

§ 792. The assimilation of *ršv* to *šv* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karšvar* 'clime,' Phl., New Pers. *kišvar*.

rs > *hl*.

§ 793. The transposition of *rs* to *hl* is very rare (cf. §§ 354, 421).

b. Iranian. Av. *parəsu* 'side,' Phl. *pahlūk*, New Pers. *pahlū*.

rs > *l*(*l*).

§ 794. The assimilation of *rs* to *l*(*l*) is extr mely rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *barəziš* 'pillow,' Phl. *bālišn*, New Pers. *bāliš*, Gab. *bālišt*, Kāš. *bōlēšm*, *bōlišt*.

rh > *r*(*r*).

§ 795. The assimilation of *rh* to *r*(*r*) is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *garha* 'abuse,' Bihārī *gārī*, *gālī*.

rh > *l*(*l*).

§ 796. The assimilation of *rh* to *l*(*l*) is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *garha* 'abuse,' Bihārī *gālī*, *gārī*.

lk > *k*(*k*).

§ 797. The assimilation of *lk* to *k*(*k*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ulkā* 'meteor,' Prāk., Pāli *ukkā*, Hindī *lūkā*, Sindhī *luk*. Skt. *valkala* 'bark,' Prāk., Pāli *vakkala*, Sindhī *bakaru*.

lg > *g*(*g*).

§ 798. The assimilation of *lg* to *g*(*g*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *valgā* 'rein,' New Ind. dialects *bāg*. Skt. *valgulī* 'bat,' Pāli *vaggulī*.

lp > *p*(*p*).

§ 799. The assimilation of *lp* to *p*(*p*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kalpa* 'time,' Pāli *kappa*. Skt. *kalpatē* 'conducts himself,' Māhār. Prāk. *kappaē*, Pāli *kappati*, Siṁh. *kapanavā*.

lm > *mb*.

§ 800. The assimilation of *lm* to *mb* is very rare (cf. §§ 323, 360).

a. Indian. Skt. *śālmalī* 'silk-cotton tree,' Jāina Prāk. *sambila*, Pāli *simbalī*, Uṛ. *śimila*, *śimula*, Bang. *śimul*, Hindī *sēmal*, *siṁbal*, Panj. *simabal*, *simmal*, Mar. *sāṁvar*.

lm > *m*(*m*).

§ 801. The assimilation of *lm* to *m*(*m*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śālmalī* 'silk-cotton tree,' Uṛ. *śimila*, *śimula*, Bang. *śimul*, Hindī *sēmal*, *siṁbal*, Panj. *simmal*, *simabal*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *jālma* 'reckless,' Pāli *jamma*.

lm > *mv*.

§ 802. The change of *lm* to *mv* is extremely rare in Indian (cf. §§ 324, 360).

a. Indian. Skt. *śālmalī* 'silk-cotton tree,' Mar. *sāṁvar*, etc. (see § 800).

ly > *l*(*l*).

§ 803. The assimilation of *ly* to *l*(*l*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kalya* 'dawn,' Prāk., Pāli *kalla*, Ass., Uṛ., Bang. *kāli*, E. Hindī, Hindī *kăl*, *kālh*, Panj. *kall*, *kallh*, Sindhī *kălh*, Guj., Mar. *kāl*.

ly > (*l*)*lh*.

§ 804. The assimilation of *ly* to (*l*)*lh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kalya* 'dawn,' E. Hindī, Hindī *kālh*, *kăl*, Panj. *kallh*, *kall*, Sindhī *kălh*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *mūlya* 'price,' Prāk. *mulla*, *molla*, Kaśm. *mol*, Uṛ. *mula*, Bang., Hindī *mōl*, Panj. *mull*, Sindhī *mulhu*, Mar. *mōl*.

lv > *b*(*b*).

§ 805. The assimilation of *lv* to *b*(*b*) is extremely rare (cf. § 372).

a. Indian. Skt. *balvaja* 'reed,' Pāli *pabbaja*.

lv > *l*(*l*).

§ 806. The assimilation of *lv* to *l*(*l*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bilva* 'wood-apple,' Pāli *billa*, *bella*, New Ind. dialects *bēl*. Skt. *khalvāṭa* 'bald,' Prāk. *khallīḍa*, Pāli *khallāṭa*.

vy > *b*(*b*).

§ 807. The assimilation of *vy* to *b*(*b*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 372). In Bangālī *vy* is regularly pronounced *b*.

a. Indian. Skt. *sīvyati* 'sews,' Pāli *sibbati*. Skt. *vyatīta* 'passed,' Uṛ. *bitibā*, Hindī *bitnā*, Panj. *bītaṇā*, Guj. *vaṭavuṁ*. Skt. *vyaṁśana* 'division,' Hindī *bāchnā*, Panj. *baṁchuaṇā*, Sindhī *virchaṇu*. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindī *bāgh*, Sindhī *vāghu*, Mar. *vāgh*, Siṁh. *vag*.

vy > *v*(*v*).

§ 808. The assimilation of *vy* to *v*(*v*) occurs very frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vyatīta* 'passed,' Guj. *vaṭavuṁ*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Sindhī *vāghu*, Mar. *vāgh*, Siṁh. *vag*, etc. (see preceding §).

vr > *v*(*v*).

§ 809. The assimilation of *vr* to *v*(*v*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *urvaśī* nom. prop., Prāk. *uvvasī*. Skt. *vrīhi* 'rice,' Prāk., Pāli *vīhi*, Siṁh. *vī*.

śc > *c*(*c*).

§ 810. The assimilation of *śc* to *c*(*c*) is not very common.

a. Indian. Skt. *āścarya* 'wonderful,' Prāk. *acchēra*, Pāli *acchēra*, *acchariya*, Hindī, Panj. *acaraj*, Sindhī *acaraj*, *acarat*. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Prāk., Pāli *pacchā*, Ass. *picē*, *pācē* (pron. *pisē*, *pāsē*), Kaśm. *pat*(*h*), Ur. *pachē*, Bang. *pāchā*, *pichē* (pron. *pāsā*, *pisē*), Hindī *pāchē*, *pāchū*, *pīchū*, Panj. *pichē*, *pichōṁ*, Sindhī *pōē*, *puāṁ*, Guj. *pachē*, *pachī*, *pāchō*, Siṁh. *pas*(*u*).

śc > (*c*)*ch*.

§ 811. The assimilation of *śc* to (*c*)*ch* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vṛścika* 'scorpion,' Prāk. *viṁcua*, *vicchua*, *viṁchua*, Pāli *vicchika*, Nāip. *bicchu*, Kaśm. *bĭc*, *büch*, Ur., Bang. *bichā*, E. Hindī *biccu*, Hindī *bichuā*, Panj. *vicchū*, Sindhī *vichūṁ*, Guj. *vichu*, *viṁchū*, Mar. *viñcū*, *viṁchūṁ*. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Prāk., Pāli *pacchā*, Ur. *pachē*, Bang. *pāchā*, *pichē*, Hindī *pāchē*, *pāchū*, *pīchū*, Panj. *pichē*, *pichōṁ*, Guj. *pachē*, *pachī*, *pāchō*, etc. (see preceding §).

śc > *s*(*s*).

§ 812. The assimilation of *śc* to *s*(*s*) is very rare (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Ass. *pisē*, *pāsē* (written *pichē*, *pāchē*), Bang. *pāsā*, *pisē* (written *pāchā*, *pichē*), Siṁh. *pas(u)*, etc. (see § 810).

Syncope of śc.

§ 813. The loss of internal *śc* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Sindhī *pōē*, *puāṁ*, etc. (see § 810). Skt. *trayaścatvāriṁśat* 'forty-three,' Prāk. *tēālīsā*, Kaśm. *tĕyatājih*, Bihārī *tāṁtālis*, Hindī *tēālīs*, *tētālīsā*, *tāiṁtālīs*, Sindhī *ṭētālīh*.

śm > *m(m)*.

§ 814. The assimilation of *śm* to *m(m)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śmaśru* 'beard,' Prāk. *māsu*, *massu*, *maṁsu*, Pāli *massu*, Ass. *mōc*, Bang. *mōch*, Bihārī *mōṁch*, *mūṁch*, Hindī *mūchēṁ*, Panj. *mucch*, Sindhī *much*, Guj. *mūch*. Skt. *śmaśāna* 'cemetery,' Prāk. *masāṇa*, Māg. Prāk. *maśāṇa*, Jāina Prāk. *sīyāṇa*, *susāṇa*, Pāli *susāna*, U̱r. *maśāṇa*, Bang. *maśān*, Hindī *masān*, Panj. *masāṇ*, Sindhī *masāṇu*, Guj. *masāṇ*, Mar. *masaṇ*.

śm > *s(s)*.

§ 815. The assimilation of *śm* to *s(s)* is comparatively rare (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *śmaśāna* 'cemetery,' Jāina Prāk. *sīyāṇa*, *susāṇa*, Pāli *susāna*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *raśmi* 'ray,' Prāk. *rassi*, Pāli *rasmi*, *raṁsi*, Ass. *raci* (pron. *rasi*), Kaśm. *raz*, U̱r., Bang. *rasī*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *rassā*, *rassī*, Sindhī *rasī*, Mar. *rassī*.

śr > *ṁj*.

§ 816. The change of *śr* to *ṁj* is very rare (cf. § 350 ?).

a. Indian. Skt. *aśru* 'tear,' Prāk. *aṁsu*, Pāli *assu*, Kaśm. *āuṣ*, *aṣū*, Nāip. *āṁsū*, U̱r. *ōṁjhū*, *āṁsū*, Bihārī, Hindī *āṁsū*, Panj. *añjhu*, Sindhī *hañj*, Guj. *āṁju*, Mar. *aṁsū*, *āsū*.

śr > *ṁjh*.

§ 817. The change of *śr* to *ṁjh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *aśru* 'tear,' Uṛ. *ōṁjhū*, *āṁsū*, Panj. *aṁjhu*, etc. (see preceding §).

śr > *ś*(*ś*).

§ 818. The assimilation of *śr* to *ś*(*ś*) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śravaṇa* 'hearing,' Uṛ. *śuṇibā*, Bang. *śunan*, Hindī *sunnā*, Panj. *suṇanā*, Sindhī *suṇaṇu*. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' Pāli *sassu*, Uṛ. *śāśa*, Bang. *śās*, Hindī *sās*, Panj. *sassū*, Sindhī *sasu*, Guj. *sāṁsū*, Mar. *sāsū*.

śr > *s*(*s*).

§ 819. The assimilation of *śr* to *s*(*s*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *śmaśru* 'beard,' Prāk. *māsu*, *massu*, *maṁsu*, Pāli *massu*, Ass. *mōc*, Bang. *mōch*, Bihārī *mōṁch*, *mūṁch*, Hindī *mūchēṁ*, Panj. *mucch*, Sindhī *much*, Guj. *mūch*. Skt. *aśru* 'tear,' Prāk. *aṁsu*, Pāli *assu*, Nāip. *āṁsū*, Uṛ. *āṁsū*, *ōṁjhū*, Bihārī, Hindī *āṁsū*, Mar. *aṁsū*, *āsū*, etc. (see § 816). Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' Pāli *sassu*, Bang. *śās*, Hindī *sās*, Panj. *sassū*, Sindhī *sasu*, Guj. *sāṁsū*, Mar. *sāsū*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *śravaṇa* 'hearing,' Hindī *sunnā*, Panj. *suṇanā*, Sindhī *suṇaṇu*, etc. (see preceding §).

śl > *s*(*s*).

§ 820. The assimilation of *śl* to *s*(*s*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *ślēṣma* 'slime,' Prāk. *siṁbha*, Pāli *silēsuma*, *sēṁha*, Siṁh. *sem*(*a*).

śv > *s*(*s*).

§ 821. The assimilation of *śv* to *s*(*s*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *aśva* 'horse,' Prāk. *assa*, *āsa*, Pāli *assa*, Siṁh. *as*. Skt. *īśvara* 'lord,' Prāk. *īsara*, Pāli *issara*, Hindī, Panj. *īsar*, cf. also Sindhī *paramēsuru*. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' Pāli *sassu*, Uṛ. *śāśa*, Bang. *śās*, Hindī *sās*, Panj. *sassū*,

Sindhī *sasu*, Guj. *sāṁsū*, Mar. *sāsū*. Skt. *śvāsa* 'breath,' Prāk., Pāli *sāsa*, Sindhī *sāhu*.

ṣk > *k*(*k*).

§ 822. The assimilation of *ṣk* to *k*(*k*) is not frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *duṣkṛta* 'evil,' Prāk. *dukkaḍa*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *dukata*, Pāli *dukkata*, *dukkaṭa*. Skt. *śuṣka* 'dry,' Prāk. *sukka*, *sukkha*, Pāli *sukkha*, Ass. *sukāna* (pron. *hukāna*), Kaśm. *hōkh*, Ur., Bang. *śukā*, Hindī *sūkhā*, Panj. *sukkhā*, *sukkā*, Sindhī *sukō*, Guj. *sūkhō*, Mar. *sukā*, *sukhā*. Skt. *niṣkarṣaṇa* 'dragging out,' Pāli *nikkaḍḍha*, Hindī *nikālanā*, *nikāsanā*, Panj. *nik(k)āsaṇā*, *nikkāḷaṇā*, Sindhī *nikāraṇuṁ*, *nikēraṇu*, *nikarāṇuṁ*, Guj. *nikāḷavuṁ*, *nikāsavuṁ*, Mar. *nikāṭaṇēṁ*, *nikāl*.

ṣk > (*k*)*kh*.

§ 823. The assimilation of *ṣk* to (*k*)*kh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṣka* 'dry,' Prāk. *sukkha*, *sukka*, Pāli *sukkha*, Kaśm. *hōkh*, Hindī *sūkhā*, Panj. *sukkhā*, *sukkā*, Guj. *sūkhō*, Mar. *sukhā*, *sukā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *puṣkara* 'pool,' Prāk., Pāli *pokkhara*, Ur. *pōkhari*, Bang. *pukur*, Hindī, Mar. *pōkhar*.

ṣṭ > *ṭ*(*ṭ*).

§ 824. The assimilation of *ṣṭ* to *ṭ*(*ṭ*) is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mṛṣṭa* 'polished,' Pāli *maṭṭa*, *maṭṭha*. Skt. *ṣaṣṭi* 'sixty,' Prāk. *saṭṭhi*, Kaśm. *śāiṭh*, *śēṭh*, Ur. *sāṭhiẽ*, Bang. *sāēṭha*, Bihārī *sāṭhi*, Hindī *sāṭh*, Panj. *saṭṭh*, Sindhī *saṭhi*, Guj., Mar. *sāṭh*, Siṁh. *säṭa*.

ṣṭ > (*ṭ*)*ṭh*.

§ 825. The assimilation of *ṣṭ* to (*ṭ*)*ṭh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yaṣṭi* 'staff,' Prāk. *laṭṭhi*, Śaur. Prāk. *jaṭṭhi*, Pāli *laṭṭhi*, Ur., Bang. *lāṭhī*, Hindī *lāṭhī*, *lāṭ*(*ī*), Panj. *laṭṭhī*, Sindhī *lāṭhī*, Guj. *lāṭh*, *lāṭ*, Mar. *laṭṭh*. Skt. *aṣṭāu* 'eight,' Prāk.,

Pāli *aṭṭha*, Kaśm. *āṭh*, Uṛ. *āṭha*, Bang. *āṭa*, Bihārī, Hindī *āṭh*, Panj. *aṭṭh*, Sindhī *aṭh*, Guj., Mar. *āṭh*. Skt. *ṣaṣṭi* 'sixty,' Prāk. *saṭṭhi*, Kaśm. *śāiṭh*, *śēṭh*, Uṛ. *sāṭhiē*, Bang. *sāēṭha*, Bihārī *sāṭhi*, Hindī *sāṭh*, Panj. *saṭṭh*, Sindhī *saṭhi*, Guj., Mar. *sāṭh*.

ṣṭ > *ḍ*(*ḍ*).

§ 826. The assimilation of *ṣṭ* to *ḍ*(*ḍ*) is very rare (cf. § 192).

a. Indian. Skt. *vēṣṭaka* 'enclosure,' Pāli *vēṭhaka*, Ass. *bēr*, Nāip. *bār*, Kaśm. *vāḍ*, *vār*, Uṛ. *bhēṛā*, *bēṛhā*, Bang. *bēṛā*, Hindī, Panj. *bēṛhā*, Multānī *vēṛhā*, Sindhī *vaḍēhō*, *vēṛhā*, Mar. *vēḍhā*. Skt. *lēṣṭu* 'clod,' Māhār. Prāk. *leṭṭhuya*, Pāli *leḍḍu*.

ṣṭ > (*ḍ*)*ḍh*.

§ 827. The assimilation of *ṣṭ* to (*ḍ*)*ḍh* is extremely rare (cf. § 193).

a. Indian. Skt. *vēṣṭaka* 'enclosure,' Uṛ. *bēṛhā*, *bhēṛā*, Hindī, Panj. *bēṛhā*, Multānī *vēṛhā*, Sindhī *vēṛhā*, *vaḍēhō*, Mar. *vēḍhā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *ruṣṭa* 'angry,' Bang., Hindī, Panj. *rūḍh*.

ṣṭr > (*ṭ*)*ṭ*.

§ 828. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to (*ṭ*)*ṭ* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṭra* 'camel.' Prāk. *uṭṭa*, Kaśm. (*v*)*ūṁṭh*, Bihārī *ū*(*ṁ*)*ṭ*, Sindhī *uṭhu*.

ṣṭr > (*ṭ*)*ṭh*.

§ 829. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to (*ṭ*)*ṭh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *mahārāṣṭra* 'great kingdom,' Pāli *mahāraṭṭha*, Sindhī *marāṭhī*, Guj. *marēṭhō*.

ṣṭr > *ḍ*(*ḍ*).

§ 830. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to *ḍ*(*ḍ*) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *daṁṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Prāk. *dāḍhā*, Pāli *dāṭhā*, Uṛ. *dāḍh*(*ī*), Bang. *dāṛ*(*ī*), Hindī *dāḍh*(*ī*), Panj. *dāhaḍ*(*ī*), Sindhī *ḍāṭh*, *ḍāḍah*, Guj. *dāḍhī*, *ḍāhār*, Mar. *dāḍh*, Siṁh. *daḷa*.

ṣṭr > (*ḍ*)*ḍh*.

§ 831. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to (*ḍ*)*ḍh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *daṁṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Prāk. *dāḍhā*, Uṛ., Hindī *dāḍh*(*ī*), Guj. *dāḍhī*, *ḍāhār*, Mar. *dāḍh*, etc. (see preceding §).

ṣṭr > *l*(*l*).

§ 832. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to *l*(*l*) is excessively rare (cf. § 213).

a. Indian. Skt. *daṁṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Siṁh. *daḷa*, etc. (see § 830).

ṣṭr > *h*(*h*).

§ 833. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to *h*(*h*) is exceedingly rare (cf. § 206 ?).

a. Indian. Skt. *daṁṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Panj. *dāhaḍ*(*ī*), Guj. *ḍāhār*, *dāḍhī*, etc. (see § 830).

ṣṭh > *ṭ*(*ṭ*).

§ 834. The assimilation of *ṣṭh* to *ṭ*(*ṭ*) is very uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kōṣṭha* 'granary,' Pāli *koṭṭha*, New Ind. dialects *koṭṭ*, *koṭṭh*.

ṣṭh > (*ṭ*)*ṭh*.

§ 835. The assimilation of *ṣṭh* to (*ṭ*)*ṭh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pṛṣṭha* 'back,' Apab. Prāk. *paṭṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi*, Pāli *piṭṭha*, Ass., Uṛ. *piṭhi*, Bang. *piṭhi*, *pīṭ*, Hindī *pīṭh*, Panj. *piṭṭh*, *puṭṭh*, Sindhī *puṭhi*, Guj. *puṭh*, *pīṭh*, Mar. *pāṭh*, Gyp. *pūšto*. Skt. *gōṣṭhī* 'assembly,' Prāk. *goṭṭhī*, Pāli *goṭṭha*, Sindhī *gōṭhu*, Mar. *goṭṭhī*. Skt. *ōṣṭha* 'lip,' Māhār. Prāk. *oṭṭha*, *uṭṭha*, Pāli *oṭṭha*, Kaśm. *vuṭh*, Uṛ. *ōṭha*, Bihārī *hō*(*ṁ*)*ṭh*, Hindī *ōṁṭh*, Panj. *hōṁṭh*, Guj. *ōṭh*, *hōṭ*, Mar. *ōṁṭh*, Gyp. *vušt*.

ṣṭh > *ḍ*(*ḍ*).

§ 836. The assimilation of *ṣṭh* to *ḍ*(*ḍ*) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṣṭha* 'leprosy,' Uṛ. *kuḍha*, Bang. *kuḍi*, Sindhī *kōṛhu*, Guj., Mar. *kōṛ*, *kōṛh*, *kōhōṛ*.

ṣṭh > (*ḍ*)*ḍh*.

§ 837. The assimilation of *ṣṭh* to (*ḍ*)*ḍh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṣṭha* 'leprosy,' Uṛ. *kuḍha*, Sindhī *kōṛhu*, Guj., Mar. *kōṛh*, *kōṛ*, *kōhōṛ*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ṣṇ > ṇ̂(n̂)$.

§ 838. The assimilation of *ṣṇ* to *ṇ̂(n̂)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *uṇha* (but Pāli *sītunnaka* 'heat and cold' besides *sītuṇhaka*), Sindhī *uṁ̂*, Guj. *unhuṁ*, Mar. *ūnha*, Siṁh. (*h*)*uṇu*.

$ṣṇ > ṇ(ṇ)$.

§ 839. The assimilation of *ṣṇ* to *ṇ(ṇ)* occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Siṁh. (*h*)*uṇu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ṣṇ > ṇh$.

§ 840. The change of *ṣṇ* to *ṇh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle Indian dialects, but it is very rare in the Middle Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Māhār. Prāk. *uṇha*, etc. (see § 838). Skt. *kṛṣṇa* nom. prop., Prāk., Pāli *kaṇha*, Hindī, Panj. *kānh*, *kanhāi*, Sindhī *kānu*, Guj. *kānhō*, Mar. *kanhōbā*.

$ṣṇ > n(n)$.

§ 841. The assimilation of *ṣṇ* to *n(n)* occurs frequently (cf. § 218).

a. Indian. Skt. *śīta* 'cold' + *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Pāli *sītunnaka*, *sītuṇhaka*, Mar. *ūnha*, etc. (cf. § 838). Skt. *kṛṣṇa* nom. prop., Sindhī *kānu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ṣṇ > nh$.

§ 842. The change of *ṣṇ* to *nh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Guj. *unhuṁ*, etc. (see § 838). Skt. *kṛṣṇa* nom. prop., Hindī, Panj. *kānh*, *kanhāi*, Guj. *kānhō*, Mar. *kanhōbā*, etc. (see § 840).

$ṣṇ > h(h)$.

§ 843. The assimilation of *ṣṇ* to *h(h)* is extremely rare (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *tṛṣṇā* 'thirst,' Prāk. *taṇhā*, Pāli *tiṇhā*, *tasiṇā*, Panj. *tihā*, Sindhī *ṭīh*, Mar. *tahān*.

$$ṣp > p(p).$$

§ 844. The assimilation of *ṣp* to *p*(*p*) is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'tear, smoke,' Prāk. *bāha* 'tear,' *bappha* 'smoke,' Śaur. Prāk., Pāli *bappa*, Ass. *bhāp*, Kaśm. *bāha*, Uṛ., Bang. *bhāp*, E. Hindī *bā(m̐)ph*, Hindī *bhāp*, *bā(m̐)ph*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhī *b̄āph*, Guj. *bā(m̐)ph*, Mar. *vāph*. Skt. *puṣpa* 'flower,' Prāk., Pāli *puppha*, Kaśm. *pōṣ*, Bihārī *phūp*, *phūph*, Old Hindī *puhup*, Hindī *phūp*, Guj., Mar. *phūl*. Skt. *niṣputra* 'sonless,' Sindhī *niputrō*.

$$ṣp > (p)ph.$$

§ 845. The assimilation of *ṣp* to (*p*)*ph* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'tear, smoke,' Prāk. *bappha* 'smoke,' *bāha* 'tear,' E. Hindī *bā(m̐)ph*, Hindī *bā(m̐)ph*, *bhāp*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhī *b̄āph*, Guj. *bā(m̐)ph*, Mar. *vāph*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *puṣpa* 'flower,' Prāk., Pāli *puppha*, Bihārī *phūph*, *phūp*, etc. (see preceding §).

$$ṣp > h(h).$$

§ 846. The assimilation of *ṣp* to *h*(*h*) is very rare (cf. §§ 421, 800).

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'tear, smoke,' Prāk. *bāha* 'tear,' *bappha* 'smoke,' Kaśm. *bāha*, etc. (see § 844).

$$ṣm > (b)bh.$$

§ 847. The assimilation of *ṣm* to (*b*)*bh* is excessively rare (cf. § 323).

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣman* 'hot season,' Prāk. *umhā*, Old Hindī *ūbh*, Mar. *umhaḷ*. Skt. *grīṣma* 'hot season,' Prāk. *gimha*, Apab. Prāk. *gimbha*, Pāli *gimha*, Old Hindī *garīsam*, Mar. *gimbh*, *gīm*.

$$ṣm > m(m).$$

§ 848. The assimilation of *ṣm* to *m*(*m*) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grīṣma* 'hot season,' Mar. *gīm, gimbh,* etc. (see preceding §).

ṣm > *mh.*

§ 849. The change of *ṣm* to *mh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *grīṣma* 'hot season,' Prāk., Pāli *gimha,* etc. (see § 847). Skt. *uṣman* 'hot season,' Prāk. *umhā,* Mar. *umhaḷ,* etc. (see § 847).

ṣy > (*k*)*kh.*

§ 850. The change of *ṣy* to (*k*)*kh* is very rare (cf. § 404).

a. Indian. Skt. *śiṣya* 'pupil,' Prāk. *sīsa,* Pāli *sissa,* Sindhī *sikhu.*

ṣy > *ṣṣ.*

§ 851. The assimilation of *ṣy* to *ṣṣ* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *puṣya, pāuṣya* 'December–January,' Prāk. *pūsa,* Uṛ. *pūṣa,* Bang. *pāuṣ,* Hindī *pūs,* Panj. *pōh,* Sindhī *pōhu.*

ṣy > *s*(*s*).

§ 852. The assimilation of *ṣy* to *s*(*s*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṣyati* 'dries,' Prāk. *sūsaï,* Pāli *sussati.* Skt. *puṣya, pāuṣya* 'December–January,' Prāk. *pūsa,* Hindī *pūs,* etc. (see preceding §).

ṣy > *h*(*h*).

§ 853. The change of *ṣy* to *h*(*h*) is very rare (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaviṣyāmi* 'I shall be,' Prāk. *hōhāmi, hōhimi, hossāmi,* Pāli *bhavissāmi.* Skt. *puṣya, pāuṣya* 'December–January,' Panj. *pōh,* Sindhī *pōhu,* etc. (see § 851).

sk > *k*(*k*).

§ 854. The assimilation of *sk* to *k*(*k*) is very frequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *taskara* 'thief,' Prāk., Pāli *takkara*. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prāk. *khand(h)a*, Pāli *khandha*, Ur., Bang., Hindī *kāṁdhā*, Panj. *kannh*, *kaṁdhā*, Sindhī, Guj. *kāṁdhō*, Mar. *khāṁdā*, Eḷu *kaṁda*, Māladive *koḍu*.

sk > (*k*)*kh*.

§ 855. The assimilation of *sk* to (*k*)*kh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prāk. *khand(h)a*, Pāli *khandha*, Mar. *khāṁdā*, etc. (see preceding §).

sc > *c*(*c*).

§ 856. The assimilation of *sc* to *c*(*c*) is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *pascaṯ* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā*, Phl., New Pers. *pas*, Kāš. *pac*, Kuhr. *pas*, *paš*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pāšī*, Dig. Oss. *fastāga*, Tag. *fastag*.

sc > *š*(*š*).

§ 857. The assimilation of *sc* to *š*(*š*) is not uncommon in the Iranian dialects (cf. §§ 419, 166).

b. Iranian. Av. *pascaṯ* 'afterward,' Kuhr. *paš*, *pas*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pāšī*, etc. (see preceding §).

sc > *šk*.

§ 858. The change of *sc* to *šk* is very rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av. *scindayeiti* 'breaks,' Phl. *škastanŏ*, New Pers. *šikastan*, Oss. *sadhtin*, *satthin*.

sc > *s*(*s*).

§ 859. The assimilation of *sc* to *s*(*s*) is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *pascaṯ* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā*, Phl., New Pers. *pas*, Kuhr. *pas*, *paš*, etc. (see § 856). Av. *scindayeiti* 'breaks,' Oss. *sadhtin*, *satthin*, etc. (see preceding §).

st > (*k*)*kh*.

§ 860. The change of *st* to (*k*)*kh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *stambha* 'post,' Prāk. *khaṁbha*, *thaṁbha*, Pāli *thambha*, Uṛ. *khaṁbh(ā)*, *khaṁ(bā)*, Bang. *khaṁbā*, Hindī, Panj. *thaṁb*, Sindhī *thaṁbhu*, Guj. *khāṁb*, *khaṁbh*, *thaṁb*, Mar. *khāṁb*, Siṁh. *ṭaṁba*. [See now Pischel, § 306.]

st > *ṭ*(*ṭ*).

§ 861. The assimilation of *st* to *ṭ*(*ṭ*) is excessively rare (cf. § 224).

a. Indian. Skt. *stambha* 'post,' Siṁh. *ṭaṁba*, etc. (see preceding §).

st > *t*(*t*).

§ 862. The assimilation of *st* to *t*(*t*) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *stāinya* 'thief,' Jāina Prāk. *tēṇiya*. Skt. *hyastana* 'yesterday's,' Pāli *hīyattana*. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Prāk., Pāli *hattha*, Ass. *hāt*, *hāth*, Kaśm. *ath* (but *hast* 'elephant'), Uṛ., Bang. *hāta*, Bihārī, Hindī *hāth*, Panj. *hatth*, Sindhī *hathu*, Guj. *hāth*, Mar. *hāt*, Siṁh. *ata*, Gyp. *vast*.

b. Iranian. Lat. *sturnus* 'starling,' Old High German *stâra*, New Pers. *tar*.

st > (*t*)*th*.

§ 863. The assimilation of *st* to (*t*)*th* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pustaka* 'book,' Prāk. *potthaa*, Pāli *pōthaka*, Kaśm. *pāth*, Uṛ. *pōthā*, Sindhī, Guj., Mar. *pōthī*, Siṁh. *pōta*. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Prāk., Pāli *hattha*, Ass. *hāth*, *hāt*, Kaśm. *ath*, Bihārī, Hindī *hāth*, Panj. *hatth*, Sindhī *hathu*, Guj. *hāth*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *prastara* 'stone,' Prāk., Pāli *patthara*, Uṛ. *pathara*, Bang. *pāthar*, Hindī, Panj. *patthar*, Sindhī *patharu*, Guj., Mar. *patthar*. Skt. *stana* 'female breast,' Pāli *thana*, Uṛ., Bang. *thana*, Hindī *than*, Panj. *thaṇ*, Sindhī *thaṇu*, Guj. *thān*, Mar. *thanā*, Siṁh. *tana*.

st > *s*(*s*).

§ 864. The assimilation of *st* to *s*(*s*) is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *rāsta* 'right,' Phl. *rāst*, New Pers. *rās, rāst*, Oss. *rast, rasth.*

sty > *ṭh, th.*

§ 865. The assimilation of *sty* to *ṭh, th*, is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *styāna* 'idleness,' Prāk., Pāli *ṭhīna, thīna.*

sth > (*k*)*kh.*

§ 866. The change of *sth* to (*k*)*kh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthāṇu* 'firm, Śiva,' Prāk. *khāṇu, khaṇṇu,* 'firm,' *thāṇu* 'Śiva.' [See now Pischel, § 309.]

sth > *ṭ*(*ṭ*).

§ 867. The assimilation of *sth* to *ṭ*(*ṭ*) is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *asthi* 'bone,' Prāk., Pāli *aṭṭhi*, U̱r., Bang. *hāḍa*, Hindī *hāḍ, haḍḍī*, Panj. *haḍḍī*, Guj., Mar. *hāḍ*, Siṁh. *aṭa.*

sth > (*ṭ*)*ṭh.*

§ 868. The assimilation of *sth* to (*ṭ*)*ṭh* is very rare (cf. § 238).

a. Indian. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Prāk. *ṭhāṇa, thāṇa*, Pāli *ṭhāna*, Nāip. *thaṇi*, U̱r. *ṭhaṇā, thānā*, Bang. *thaṇā, thān*, Hindī *ṭhannā, thānā*, Panj. *ṭhāṇ, thānā*, Sindhī *ṭhāṇu, thāṇu*, Guj. *ṭhāṇ, thāṇ*, Mar. *ṭhān, thār*, Siṁh. *ṭāna, tāna*, Gyp. *than.*

sth > *ḍ*(*ḍ*).

§ 869. The assimilation of *sth* to *ḍ*(*ḍ*) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *asthi* 'bone,' U̱r., Bang. *hāḍa*, Hindī *hāḍ, haḍḍī*, Panj. *haḍḍī*, Guj., Mar. *hāḍ*, etc. (see § 867).

sth > *t*(*t*).

§ 870. The assimilation of *sth* to *t*(*t*) is exceedingly rare (cf. § 240).

a. Indian. Skt. *sthira* 'firm,' Prāk., Pāli *thira*, U̱r. *thira*, Hindī *ṭhir*, Siṁh. *tara.* Skt. *sthālī* 'kettle,' Pāli *thālī*, U̱r., Panj. *thāḷī*, Guj. *thāḷī*, Mar. *thāḷā*, Siṁh. *tāli*, Māladive *teli.*

sth > *(t)th.*

§ 871. The assimilation of *sth* to *(t)th* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects and in North Balūcī.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Prāk. *thāṇa, ṭhāṇa*, Nāip. *thaṇi*, Uṛ. *thānā, ṭhaṇā*, Bang. *thān, thaṇā*, Hindī *thānā, ṭhannā*, Panj. *thānā, ṭhannā, ṭhāṇ*, Sindhī *thāṇu, ṭhāṇu*, Guj. *thāṇ, ṭhāṇ*, Mar. *thār, ṭhān*, Gyp. *than*, etc. (see § 868). Skt. *sthira* 'firm,' Prāk., Pāli *thira*, Uṛ. *thira*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *-stāna* 'standing,' Phl., New Pers. *-stān*, N. Bal. *thān*, Kurd. *šūn*.

sth > *st.*

§ 872. The deaspirization of *sth* to *st* is very rare (cf. § 240).

a. Indian. Skt. *gṛhastha* 'householder,' Pāli *gahaṭṭha*, Bihārī *girhast*, Hindī *grihast*, Panj. *g(a)risati*, Sindhī *grihastu*, Guj. *grastha* (semi-tatsama).

sth > *š(š).*

§ 873. The assimilation of *sth* to *š(š)* is extremely rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *-stāna* 'standing,' Kurd. *šūn*, etc. (see § 871).

sn > *ṇh.*

§ 874. The change of *sn* to *ṇh* is very rare (cf. §§ 421, 277).

a. Indian. Skt. *snāna* 'bathing,' Apab. Prāk. *ṇhāṇu*, Pāli *nahāna, sināna*, Hindī *nhānā*, Panj. *nhāuṇā*, Guj. *nahāṇ*, Mar. *nahāṇ, nāhaṇēṁ*.

sn > *n(n).*

§ 875. The assimilation of *sn* to *n(n)* occurs both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. It is more frequent in the latter group.

a. Indian. Skt. *snēha* 'love,' Prāk. *nēha, siṇēha*, Apab. Prāk. *nēhu*, Pāli *s(i)nēha*, Bihārī *nēh*, Sindhī *nīṁhu, sanēhō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *snaoδa* 'cloud,' Bal. *nōd*, N. Bal. *nōδ*. Skt. *snuṣar* 'daughter-in-law,' Afγ. *nšōr*, Bal. *naŝār*, Oss. *n(v)ostha*. Av. *snavarə* 'bow-string,' Dig. Oss. *navr*, Tag. *nvar*.

sn > *nh*.

§ 876. The change of *sn* to *nh* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *snāna* 'bathing,' Hindī *nhānā*, Panj. *nhāuṇā*, etc. (see § 874).

sp > *p*(*p*).

§ 877. The assimilation of *sp* to *p*(*p*) is very rare (cf. § 293).

a. Indian. Skt. *vanaspati* 'tree,' Prāk. *vaṇassaï*, *vaṇapphaï*, Pāli *vanappati*. Skt. *sparśa* 'touch,' Prāk. *pharisa*, Pāli *phassa*, Ass. √*pas*, Bang. *sparśa* (pron. *pŏrśŏ*), Hindī, Panj. *paras*, Guj. *pāras*, Mar. *paras*.

b. Iranian. Av. *spərəza* 'spleen,' Phl. *spārz*, New Pers. *supurz*, Kāš. *aspūl*, *aspōl*, Tāt *süpül*, Kurd. *pišik*.

sp > (*p*)*ph*.

§ 878. The assimilation of *sp* to (*p*)*ph* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian languages.

a. Indian. Skt. *sparśa* 'touch,' Prāk. *pharisa*, Pāli *phassa*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *spandana* 'throb,' Prāk. *phaṁdaṇa*, Pāli *phandana*, Hindī *phāṁdanā*, Panj. *phaṁdanā*, Mar. *phāṁdaṇēṁ*.

sp > *s*(*s*).

§ 879. The assimilation of *sp* to *s*(*s*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects. In the Indian dialects, on the other hand, it is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vanaspati* 'tree,' Prāk. *vaṇassaï*, *vaṇapphaï*, etc. (see § 877). Skt. *bṛhaspati* nom. prop., Prāk. *bihassaï*, *bhaassaï*, *bahappaï*, *bhaapphaï*.

b. Iranian. Av. *span* 'dog,' Old Pers. (Median) σπάκα, Phl. *sak*, *sag*, New Pers. *sag*, Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, Tāl. *sipā*, Afγ. *spai*, Kurd. *sah*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *asa*, *aspa*, Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Tāt *ās*, Waxī *yaš*, Minj. *yas*(*a*)*p*, Afγ. *ās*, Bal. (*h*)*aps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *afsa*, Tag.

yafs. Skt. *aśvatara* 'mule,' Phl., New Pers. *astar*, Bal. *istal*, N. Bal. *hastal*, Kurd. *istir*, *histir*.

sp > *sph*, *sf*.

§ 880. The aspirization of *sp* to *sph*, *sf*, is not common.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaospəṇta* 'holy kine,' Phl. *gōspand*, New Pers. *gōsfand*, *gōspand*. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Phl. *spēd*, New Pers. *safēd*, *sipēd*, *ispēd*, Zaf. *sūbō*, Kāš. *asbē*, Kuhr. *asbēd*, Afγ. *spīn*, Kurd. (*i*)*spī*.

sp > *sb*.

§ 881. The softening of *sp* to *sb* is not uncommon in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 290).

b. Iranian. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Zaf. *sūbō*, Kāš. *asbē*, Kuhr. *asbēd*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *span* 'dog,' Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, etc. (see § 879).

sph > (*k*)*kh*.

§ 882. The assimilation of *sph* to (*k*)*kh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sphōṭaka* 'boil,' Prāk. *khōḍaa*, Pāli *phōṭa*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *phōḍā*, Sindhī *phurḍī*. [So the Prākrit grammarians, falsely. See now Pischel, § 311.]

sph > (*p*)*ph*.

§ 883. The assimilation of *sph* to (*p*)*ph* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sphuṭa* 'thrilled,' Prāk. *phuḍa*, Pāli *phuṭa*. Skt. *sphōṭaka* 'boil,' Pāli *phōṭa*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *phōḍā*, Sindhī *phurḍī*.

sm > *mh*.

§ 884. The change of *sm* to *mh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle Indian dialects (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *asmi* 'am,' Prāk. *amhi*, Pāli *amhi*, *asmi*. Skt. *vismaya* 'wonder,' Prāk. *vimhaa*, Pāli *vimhaya*, Sindhī *visāī*.

sm > *s*(*s*).

§ 885. The assimilation of *sm* to *s*(*s*) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vismaya* 'wonder,' Sindhī *visāī*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *smṛti* 'memory,' Hindī, Panj. *surat*, Sindhī *surti*. Skt. *smarati* 'remembers,' Prāk. *saraī*, *sumaraī*, Pāli *sarati*, *sumarati*.

sm > *sb*.

§ 886. The change of *sm* to *sb* is excessively rare (cf. § 323).

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *asman* 'heaven,' Phl., New Pers. *āsmān*, Gab. *asbān*, Bal. *āsmān*, N. Bal. *aṧmān*.

sm > *z*(*z*).

§ 887. The assimilation of *sm* to *z*(*z*) is very rare (cf. §§ 325, 420).

b. Iranian. Av. *aēsma* 'fuel,' Phl. (*h*)*ēzam*, Pāz., New Pers. *hēzam*, Gab. *izma*, Kāš., Kuhr. (*h*)*ēzam*, Kurd. *hazang*.

sm > *zm*.

§ 888. The softening of *sm* to *zm* is rare (cf. § 420).

b. Iranian. Av. *aēsma* 'fuel,' Gab. *izma*, etc. (see preceding §).

sm > *ṧm*.

§ 889. The change of *sm* to *ṧm* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *asman* 'heaven,' N. Bal. *aṧmān*, etc. (see § 886).

sy > (*j*)*jh*.

§ 890. The change of *sy* to (*j*)*jh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kāṁsya*, *kaṁsa* 'bell-metal,' Prāk. *kaṁsia*, Pāli *kaṁsa*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī *kāṁsā*, Panj. *kāṁsī*, Sindhī *kaṁjhō*, Guj. *kāṁsuṁ*, Mar. *kāṁsēṁ* (cf. also Prāk. *tujjha* 'of thee' < Old Ind. **tusya*).

sy > *s*(*s*).

§ 891. The assimilation of *sy* to *s*(*s*) is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *syāla* 'brother-in-law,' Pāli *sāla*, Bang. *śāl*, Hindī *sāl*, Panj. *sāḷā*, Sindhī *sālō*, Guj. *sālō*, *sāḷō*, Mar. *sāḷā*, Gyp. *salō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *syāva* 'black,' Phl. *siyāk*, *siyāh*, New Pers. *siyāh*, Waxī *śū*, Sangl. *šōi*, Oss. *sau*.

sy > *ś*(*š*).

§ 892. The assimilation of *sy* to *ś*(*š*) is very rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av. *syāva* 'black,' Waxī *śū*, Sangl. *šōi*, etc. (see preceding §).

sr > (*k*)*kh*.

§ 893. The change of *sr* to (*k*)*kh* is extremely rare (cf. § 404 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *sraoni* 'thigh,' Phl. *sarūk*, *sarīn*, New Pers. *surūn*, *surīn*, Waxī *šunj*, Šiyn. *šāun*, Sarq. *xāun*, Bal. *sarēn*.

sr > *ls*.

§ 894. The metathesis of *sr* to *ls* is rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *ars*, Kāš. *asl*, Māz. *asr*, Afγ. *ōša*, Bal. *als*, Kurd. (*h*)*istir*, *asr*.

sr > *s*(*s*).

§ 895. The assimilation of *sr* to *s*(*s*) is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sahasra* 'thousand,' Prāk., Pāli *sahassa*, Kaśm. *sās*, Bihārī *sahasar*, Sindhī *sahasu*. Skt. *srōtas* 'river,' Prāk. *sotta*, Pāli *sōta*, Siṁh. *sō*, *soya*, (*h*)*oya*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' New Pers. *xusū*, *xusrū*, Kāš. *xasrū*, Afγ. *x*^{v}*āša*, Bal. *vassō*, *vassī*, *vassē*, Kurd. *xosī*, *xassū*, *xasrū*.

sr > *sl*.

§ 896. The change of *sr* to *sl* is very rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Kāš. *asl*, etc. (see § 894).

sr > *ś*(*š*).

§ 897. The assimilation of *sr* to *ś*(*š*) is rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Afγ. *ōša*, etc. (see § 894). Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' New Pers. *xus(r)ū*, Afγ. *xᵛāša*, etc. (see § 895).

sr > *h*(*h*).

§ 898. The assimilation of *sr* to *h*(*h*) is rare (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *srōtas* 'river,' Siṁh. *hoya*, *oya*, *sō*, *soya*, etc. (see § 895).

Aphaeresis of sr.

§ 899. The loss of initial *sr* occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *srōtas* 'river,' Siṁh. *oya*, *hoya*, *sō*, *soya*, etc. (see § 895).

sv > *Iranian* x^v, *hv* > *k*(*k*).

§ 900. The assimilation of *sv* to *k*(*k*), through Iranian x^v, *hv*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xᵛafsata* 'sleep!' Phl. *xᵛafṯanŏ*, New Pers. *xuspīdan*, Sīv. *fatan*, Tāl. *asp*, Waxi *xöfsam*, Šiγn. *šorsam*, Sarq. *xufsam*, Zaza *knana*.

sv > *Iranian* x^v, *hv* > (*k*)*kh*, *x*.

§ 901. The assimilation of *sv* to (*k*)*kh*, *x*, through Iranian x^v, *hv*, is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 404 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *hvarə* 'sun,' Phl. *xur*, *xᵛar*, New Pers. *xur*, Šiγn. *xēr*, Sarq. *xar*, Yidg. *xūr*, Afγ. *nmar*, *nvar*, Dig. Oss. *xor*, Tag. *xūr*. Av. *xᵛaraiti* 'eats,' Phl. *xᵛarṯanŏ*, New Pers. *xurdan*, Gab. *xartin*, Sīv. *fŏrdan*, Zaf. *buxōrt*, Kāš. *xōrdamūn*, Vōn. *xūrtan*, Kuhr. *xārdan*, Nāy. *uxūr* 'eat!' Tāl. *bahardēn*, Šiγn. *xaram*, Sarq. *xoram*, Sangl. *xᵛaram*, Minj. *xar*, Yidg. *xūrah*, Afγ. *xōṛal*, Bal. *varag*, N. Bal. *varaγ*, Kurd. *xurin*, Dig. Oss. *xvarun*, Tag. *xarin*. Av. *saxᵛārə* 'word,' Phl., New Pers. *suxun*, Sīv. *tuxun*, Kāš. *suxan*.

sv > *Iranian* x^v, *hv* > *nm*, *nv*.

§ 902. The change of *sv* to *nm*, *nv*, through Iranian x^v, *hv*, is very rare (cf. §§ 904, 329 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *hvarə* 'sun,' Afγ. *nmar*, *nvar*, etc. (see preceding §).

sv > *Iranian* x^v, *hv* > (*p*)*ph*, *f*.

§ 903. The change of *sv* to (*p*)*ph*, *f*, through Iranian x^v, *hv*, is exceedingly rare (cf. §§ 904, 371 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. x^v*araiti* 'eats,' Sīv. *fŏrdan*, etc. (see § 901). Av. x^v*afsata* 'sleep!' Sīv. *fatan*, etc. (see § 900).

sv > *Iranian* x^v, *hv* > *v*(*v*).

§ 904. The assimilation of *sv* to *v*(*v*), through Iranian x^v, *hv*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Phl. x^v*aš*, *xūš* 'good,' Pāz. x^v*aš*, New Pers. *xuš*, *xōš*, Kāš. *xūš*, *xōš*, Šiγn. *xāiš*, Sarq. *xēx*, Bal. *vaš*, Kurd. *xōš*, Zaza *vaš*. Av. x^v*araiti* 'eats,' Bal. *varag*, N. Bal. *varaγ*, etc. (see § 901).

sv > *s*(*s*).

§ 905. The assimilation of *sv* to *s*(*s*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *svāmin* 'lord,' Prāk. *sāmi*, Pāli *sāmī*, *suvāmī*, Uṛ., Bang. *śāīṁ*, Hindī, Panj. *sāīṁ*, Sindhī *sāṁīṁ*, Siṁh. *hami*, *himi*. Skt. *bhasvara* 'brilliant,' Pāli *bhassara*. Skt. *svaka* 'own,' Hindī *sagā*, Panj. *saggā*, Sindhī *sāgō*, Guj. *saguṁ*, Mar. *sagā*. Skt. *svāṅga* 'mimicry,' Hindī, Panj. *sāṁg*, Sindhī *sāṁgu*, Guj., Mar. *sōṁg*.

sv > *h*(*h*), *and sv* > *Iranian* x^v, *hv* > *h*(*h*).

§ 906. The assimilation of *sv* to *h*(*h*) is very rare (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *svāmin* 'lord,' Siṁh. *hami*, *himi*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av. x^v*araiti* 'eats,' Tāl. *bahardēn*, etc. (see § 901). Av. x^v*aēda* 'sweat,' Phl. x^v*aī*, x^v*ēdē*, New Pers. x^v*ai*, Waxī *xil*, Sarq. *xaiδ*, Afγ. x^v*alē*, Bal. *hēd*, N. Bal. *hēd*, Kurd. *xū*, *xoi*, *xōh*, Oss. *xad*.

Aphaeresis of sv > Iranian x^v, hv.

§ 907. The loss of initial *sv* through Iranian x^v, *hv*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *x^vafsata* 'sleep!' Tāl. *asp*, etc. (see § 900).

šk > c(c).

§ 908. The assimilation of *šk* to *c(c)* is rare (cf. §§ 424, 118).

b. Iranian. Av. *hušk a* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Phl., New Pers. *xušk*, Kāš. *ušk*, Waxī *vask*, Afγ. *vuc*, Bal. *hušaγ*, Oss. *xusk*, *xus*.

šk > s(s).

§ 909. The assimilation of *šk* to *s(s)* is extremely rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *hušk a* 'dry,' Oss. *xus*, *xusk*, etc. (see preceding §).

šk > sk.

§ 910. The change of *šk* to *sk* is excessively rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *hušk a* 'dry,' Waxī *vask*, Oss. *xusk*, *xus*, etc. (see § 908).

šk > š(š).

§ 911. The assimilation of *šk* to *š(š)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *pušk* 'cat,' Gīl. *pīcā*, Waxī *piš*, Šiγn. *paš*, Afγ. *pišō*, Bal. *pāšī*, *pišī*, Kurd. *pĭšīk*.

šk > šc.

§ 912. The change of *šk* to *šc* is very rare (cf. § 118).

b. Iranian. New Pers. *pušk* 'sheep-droppings,' Waxī *pōšk* Šiγn. *pašc*, Afγ. *paca*.

št > kht, xt.

§ 913. The change of *št* to *kht*, *xt*, is rare (cf. § 404?).

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angušt*, Sīv. *gus*, Vōn. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, Waxī *yangl*, Šiγn. *angašt*, Sarq. *ingaxt*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Afγ. *gūta*, Oss *angursth*.

št > *khs*, *xs*.

§ **914.** The change of *št* to *khs*, *xs*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Phl. (*h*)*ašt*, New Pers. *hašt*, Waxī *hāθ*, *hāt*, Šiyn. *vašt*, Sarq. *voxt*, Rōš. *hašt*, Sangl. *hāt*, Minj. *ašk*a, Yaγn. *uxs*, Afγ. *ata*, Oss. *asth*.

št > *t*(*t*).

§ **915.** The assimilation of *št* to *t*(*t*) is quite common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Waxī *hāt*, *hāθ*, Sangl. *hāt*, Afγ. *ata*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Sangl. *ingit*, Afγ. *gūta*, etc. (see § 913).

št > (*t*)*th*.

§ **916.** The assimilation of *št* to (*t*)*th* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Waxī *hāθ*, *hāt*, etc. (see § 914).

št > *l*(*l*).

§ **917.** The assimilation of *št* to *l*(*l*) is exceedingly rare (cf. § 426).

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Waxī *yangl*, etc. (see § 913).

št > *s*(*s*).

§ **918.** The assimilation of *št* to *s*(*s*) is quite common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Sīv. *gus*, Vōn. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, etc. (see § 913).

št > *šk*.

§ **919.** The change of *št* to *šk* is very rare (cf. § 222 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Minj. *ašk*a, etc. (see § 914).

šty > *št*.

§ **920.** The assimilation of *šty* to *št* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *ištya* 'brick,' Phl., New Pers. *xišt*, Bal. *išt*, *ït*.

šn > *khn*, *xn*.

§ 921. The change of *šn* to *khn*, *xn*, is very rare (cf. § 404 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Phl. *pāšnak*, New Pers. *pāšnah*, Waxī *pāšnah*, Sarq. *puxnā*, Afy. *pūnda*, Bal. *pūṁsig*, *pīṁs*, N. Bal. *phīz*, *phīd*, Kurd. *pānī*.

šn > *d*(*d*), *nd*.

§ 922. The change of *šn* to *d*(*d*), *nd*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Afy. *pūnda*, N. Bal. *phīd*, *phīz*, etc. (see preceding §).

šn > *n*(*n*).

§ 923. The assimilation of *šn* to *n*(*n*) is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Kurd. *pānī*, etc. (see § 921).

šn > *z*(*z*), *ṁz*.

§ 924. The assimilation of *šn* to *z*(*z*), *ṁz*, is rare (cf. § 428).

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Bal. *pūṁsig*, *pīṁs*, N. Bal. *phīz*, *phīd*, etc. (see § 921).

šm > *m*(*m*).

§ 925. The assimilation of *šm* to *m*(*m*) is very common.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Phl., New Pers. *cašm*, Gab. *cam*, Sīv., Zaf. *caš*, Kāš., Vōn. *cam*, Kuhr., Samn. *caš*, Māz. *cas*, Gīl. *ciš*, Waxī *cöžm*, Šiγn. *čēm*, Sarq. *čam*, Sangl. *šam*, Minj. *cam*, Yidg. *cum*, Bal. *cam*, N. Bal. *cham*, Kurd. *cāv*, Zaza *cim*, Dig. Oss. *časta*, Tag. *časth*.

šm > *v*(*v*).

§ 926. The assimilation of *šm* to *v*(*v*) is rare (cf. § 324).

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Kurd. *cāv*, etc. (see preceding §).

šm > *sm*.

§ 927. The change of *šm* to *sm* is very rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *yušmākəm* 'of you,' Pāz., New Pers. *šumā*, Bal. *šavā*, Dig. Oss. *smax*, Tag. *sumax*.

šm > *š*(*š*).

§ 928. The assimilation of *šm* to *š*(*š*) is very common.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Sīv., Zaf., Kuhr., Samn. *caš*, Gīl. *ciš*, etc. (see § 925).

šm > *šm*.

§ 929. The softening of *šm* to *šm* occurs but seldom (cf. § 429).

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Waxī *cōšm*, etc. (see § 925).

šy > *c*(*c*), *č*(*č*).

§ 930. The assimilation of *šy* to *c*(*c*), *č*(*č*), is very rare (cf. § 424).

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šudan*, Waxī *cauam*, Šiγn. *višafcam*, Sarq. *vašavsam*, Afγ. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šuδā*, *šuθa*, Kurd. *cīan*, Oss. *čaun*.

šy > *š*(*š*).

§ 931. The assimilation of *šy* to *š*(*š*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šudan*, Afγ. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šuδā*, *šuθa*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *šaiti* 'peace,' Old Pers. *šiyāti*, Phl. *šāẓ*(*īh*), New Pers. *šād*, Oss. *ančad*.

šy > *š*(*š*).

932. The softening of *šy* to *š*(*š*) is very rare (cf. § 429).

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, Šiγn. *višafcam*, Sarq. *vašavsam*, etc. (see § 930).

žg > *žg*.

§ 933. The change of *žg* to *žg* is extremely rare (cf. § 436).

b. Iranian. Av. *mazga* 'marrow,' Phl. *mazg*, New Pers. *mayz*, Sarq. *mužg*, Afγ. *māγza*, Bal. *mažg*, Oss. *mayz*.

zd > *z*(*z*).

§ 934. The assimilation of *zd* to *z*(*z*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *nazda* 'near,' Phl. *nazdīk*, New Pers. *naz-d*(*īh*), Sarq. *nizd*, Afγ. *nizdē*, *nišdē*, Bal. *nazīk*, N. Bal. *nazī*(*x*), Kurd. *nizūk*, *nēzīk*.

zr > *dr*.

§ 935. The change of *zr* to *dr* is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *zrayah* 'sea,' Old Pers. *drayah*, Phl. *drayāk*, *zrē*, New Pers. *daryā*, *zarāh*, *zirih*, Tāt *dairuh*, Bal. *zirā*.

zv > *zm*.

§ 936. The change of *zv* to *zm* is very rare (cf. § 374).

b. Iranian. Av. *hizva* 'tongue,' Phl. (*h*)*uzvān*, *zuvān*, New Pers. *zabān*, *zubān*, Gab. *izvūn*, Waxī *zik*, Šiγn. *zav*, Sarq. *ziv*, Afγ. *žiba*, Bal. *zimān*, Kurd. *azmān*, Oss. *awzag*.

žb > *žb*.

§ 937. The change of *žb* to *žb* is extremely rare (cf. § 436).

b. Iranian. Av. *hizva* 'tongue,' Afγ. *žiba*, etc. (see preceding §).

žd > *z*(*z*).

§ 938. The assimilation of *žd* to *z*(*z*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 443).

b. Iranian. Av. *duždah* 'wretched,' Phl., Pāz. *dužd* 'thief,' New Pers. *duzd*, Gab. *duz*, Tāl. *diz*, Bal. *duz*.

žd > *zd*.

§ 939. The change of *žd* to *zd* is quite common in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 443).

b. Iranian. Av. *dužd̥ah* 'wretched,' New Pers. *duzd*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *mīžda* 'reward,' Phl. *muzd*, Pāz. *mozd*, New Pers. *muzd*, *mušd*, Kurd., Oss. *mizd*.

hn > *ṇh*.

§ 940. The metathesis of *hn* to *ṇh* is very rare (cf. § 277).

a. Indian. Skt. *vahni* 'fire,' Prāk. *vaṇhi*, Sindhī *bāhi*.

hn > *n*(*n*).

§ 941. The assimilation of *hn* to *n*(*n*) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *cihna* 'mark,' Prāk. *ciṇha*, *cindha*, Nāip. *cinnu*, Ur., Bang. *cinha*, Bihārī *cīn*, *cinaha*, Hindī *cihna*, Panj. *cihan*, Sindhī *cihanu*, Guj., Mar. *ciṁha*.

hn > *ndh*.

§ 942. The change of *hn* to *ndh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *cihna* 'mark,' Prāk. *cindha*, *ciṇha*, etc. (see preceding §).

hn > *h*(*h*).

§ 943. The assimilation of *hn* to *h*(*h*) is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vahni* 'fire,' Sindhī *bāhi*, etc. (see § 940).

hm > *m*(*m*).

§ 944. The assimilation of *hm* to *m*(*m*) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Prāk. *bamhaṇa*, (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *bamana*, Jāina Prāk. *māhaṇa*, Pāli *brāhmaṇa*, Bihārī *bāman*, *bāmhan*, *bāmahan*, Sindhī *bāṁbhaṇu*, Siṁh. *baṁba*.

hm > *mb*.

§ 945. The change of *hm* to *mb* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Siṁh. *baṁba*, etc. (see preceding §).

hm > *mbh*.

§ 946. The change of *hm* to *mbh* is rare (cf. § 449).

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Sindhī *bāmbhaṇu*, etc. (see § 944).

hy > *j*(*j*).

§ 947. The assimilation of *hy* to *j*(*j*) is very rare (cf. § 331).

a. Indian. Skt. *guhya* 'hidden,' Prāk. *gujjha*, Panj. *gujjhā*, Sindhī *gujhō*, Guj. *guj*, Mar. *gūj*.

hy > (*j*)*jh*.

§ 948. The assimilation of *hy* to (*j*)*jh* is quite common in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nahyati* 'binds,' Prāk. *najjhaï*. Skt. *guhya* 'hidden,' Prāk. *gujjha*, Panj. *gujjhā*, Sindhī *gujhō*, etc. (see preceding §).

hv > (*b*)*bh*.

§ 949. The assimilation of *hv* to (*b*)*bh* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects (cf. § 373).

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prāk. *jibbhā*, *jībā*, Pāli *jivhā*, Ass. *jibā*, Nāip. *jibrō*, Kaśm. *zēo*, other New Ind. dialects *jībh*, excepting Sindhī *jībh*, Siṁh. *diva*, Māladive *dū*, Gyp. *cib*. Skt. *gahvara* 'cavern,' Pāli *gabbhara*. Skt. *vihvala* 'agitated,' Prāk. *vebbhala*, *vihala*, Hindī *bihabal*, Panj. *bihul*.

hv > *v*(*v*).

§ 950. The assimilation of *hv* to *v*(*v*) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Siṁh. *diva*, etc. (see preceding §).

hv > *h*(*h*).

§ 951. The assimilation of *hv* to *h*(*h*) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prāk. *jībā*, *jibbhā*, etc. (see § 949). Skt. *vihvala* 'agitated,' Prāk. *vihala*, *vebbhala*, Hindī *bihabal*, Panj. *bihul*.

Syncope of hv.

§ 952. The loss of internal *hv* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Kaśm. *zĕo*, Māladive *dū*, etc. (see § 949).

Anusvāra and Anunāsika.

§ 953. In the Middle Indian dialects the anusvāra, a purely nasal sound, has been almost entirely lost, and has vanished altogether in the New Indian dialects. On the other hand the anunāsika, or nasalization of a vowel sound, became more and more frequent during the Middle and New Indian periods, until it now completely supersedes the anusvāra. Anunāsika may stand before *h* or *s*, and is interchangeable with the class-nasal in all vargas in the New Indian dialects. Final anusvāra becomes anunāsika in the transition from Middle to New Indian, and such an anunāsika is retained unchanged after long vowels in Panjābī, Sindhī, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī, although they elide it after a short vowel. In the other New Indian dialects final anunāsika is lost under all circumstances. Avestan *ą* possesses a certain resemblance to Indian anunāsika.

a. Indian. Skt. *siṁha* 'lion,' Prāk., Pāli *sīha*, Hindī, Panj. *siṁgh*, Sindhī *siṁghō*, *śiṁhu*, other New Ind. dialects *siṁh* (pron. *siṁgh*). Skt., Prāk. *haṁsa* 'goose,' E. Hindī *hāṁs*, *hans*. Skt. *śṛṅkhala* 'fetter,' Pāli *saṁkhala*, Ass. *sikali*, Nāip. *sikrī*, U̱r. *śikuli*, Bang. *śikal*, *sikal*, E. Hindī *sīṁkar*, *sīkar*, *sik(k)ar*, Hindī *sīka̱r*, *sikhar*, *sikal*, Panj. *saṁghar*, Sindhī *saṅgharō*, Guj. *saṁghal*, Mar. *sāṁkhal*, *sākhal̤*, *sikrī*. Skt. *kuñcikā* 'key,' Kaśm. *kuñz*, U̱r. *kuṁcī*, *kuṁjhī*, *kuji*, Bang. *kūṁjī*, *kūjī*, Hindī, Panj. *kuṁjī*, Sindhī *kuñjī*, Guj. *kuṁcī*, Mar. *kuṁjī*. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Prāk. *saṇḍha*, Ass. *sāṁr*, Bang. *ṣāṁr*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sāṁr̤*, Panj. *sāṁḍh*, Sindhī *sānu*, Mult. *sāṁh*, *saṇḍhā*, Guj., Mar. *sāṁḍ*. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prāk., Pāli *khandha*, Ass. *kāṁd(h)*, U̱r., Bang. *kāṁdh*, Bihārī *kāṁdhā*, *khāṁdā*, Hindī *kāṁdhā*, Panj. *kandhā*, *kannh*, Sindhī *kandhu*, Guj. *khāṁdō*, Mar. *khāṁdā*, Siṁh. *kanda*. Skt. *kampati* 'trembles,' Prāk.

kaṁpaï, *kampaï*, Pāli *kampati*, Ass. *kaṁp*, Kaśm. *kam(p)*, Hindī *kāṁp*, Panj. *kamb*, Sindhī *kaṁb*, Guj., Mar. *kāṁp*. Skt. *idānīṁ* 'now,' Prāk. *dāṇiṁ*, *dāṇi*. Skt. *dadhi* 'curds,' Prāk. *dahiṁ*, E. Hindī, Hindī *dahī*, Panj. *dahīṁ*, Sindhī *ḍahīṁ*, Guj., Mar. *dahīṁ*.

Visarga.

§ 954. The Old Indian visarga is entirely lost in the Middle and New Indian dialects. In the few instances in which *ḥ* appears in script in New Indian it is employed under learned influence, and is not pronounced.

a. Indian. Skt. *duḥkha* 'misery,' Hindī *duḥkh* (pron. *dukh*), *dukh*. Skt. *antaḥkaraṇa* 'heart,' Hindī *antaḥkaraṇ* (pron. *ant(a)karan*). Skt. *niḥśvāsa* 'sigh,' Hindī *niḥsvās* (pron. *nisvās*), *nisvās*.

Metathesis.

§ 955. Metathesis occurs very frequently in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, especially when one of the consonants involved is a liquid or a sibilant. Although transposition of individual consonants is the more usual case, instances of the metathesis of entire syllables are not lacking.

a. Indian. Skt. *hrada* 'sea,' Jāina Prāk. *draha*, Ardhamāg. Prāk. *daha*. Skt. *ālāna* 'elephant's tie-post,' Prāk. *āṇāla*. Skt. *laghuka* 'light,' Prāk. *halua*, *lahua*, Pāli *lahuka*, Uṛ., Bang. *halkā*, E. Hindī *haluk*, Hindī *halakā*, Sindhī *halkō*, Guj. *halakuṁ*, Mar. *halakā*. Skt. *sakaṭa* 'stupid,' Pāli *kasaṭa*. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gaḍḍaha*, *gaddaha*, Pāli *gadrabha*, Ass. *gādh*, Nāip. *gadāha*, Uṛ. *gadhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, Bihārī, Hindī *gadhā*, Panj. *gadhā*, *gaddō*, Sindhī *gaṛahu*, Guj. *gadhēḍō*, Mar. *gaḍhav*. Skt. *kṣēpaṇa* 'toss,' Prāk. *khēpa*, Uṛ. *phiṁgibā*, *pakāibā*, Hindī, Panj. *phēṁknā*, Sindhī *phakaṇu*, Guj. *phēṁknā*, Mar. *phēṁkṇēṁ*. Skt. *vruḍati* 'sinks,' Prāk. *buḍḍaï*, Uṛ., Bang. *buḍ*, Hindī *bŭḍ*, Sindhī *b̆uḍ*, Guj., Mar. *buḍ* beside Uṛ., Bang. *ḍubnā*, Panj. *ḍubbaṇā*, Sindhī *ḍ̆ubanu*, Guj., Mar. *dubaṇu*.

Skt. *paridhīyatē* 'is clothed,' Apab. Prāk. *parihaï*, Kaśm. *prāv*, Uṛ. *pahar*, Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *pahir*, Guj. *pēr*, cf. also Mar. *pēraṇ*, *pehraṇ* 'shirt.' Skt. *biḍāla* 'cat,' Apab. Prāk. *viḍlu*, Nāip. *birālu*, E. Hindī, Hindī *bilār*, Guj. *bilāḍī*. Skt. *samudra* 'sea,' Prāk. *samudda*, *samudra*, Pāli *samudda*, Siṁh. **hamuda* > **mahuda* > *muhuda*. Skt. *nūpura* 'anklet,' Prāk. *ṇēura*, *niura*, Pāli *nūpura*, Uṛ. *nēpura*, *nūpura*, Sindhī *nūrō*, Guj., Mar. *nēpūr*, Siṁh. *nuruva*. Skt. *śayana* 'bed,' Prāk. *sayaṇa*, Pāli *sayana*, *sēna*, Siṁh. *yahana*.

An instance of vowel-metathesis seems to be found in Skt. *picumanda* 'nimba-tree,' Pāli *pucimanda*.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Old Pers. *θuxra-*, Phl. *suxr*, New Pers. *surx*, Šīr. *sīrah*, Sīv. *sīr*, Yazdī *surkuh*, Kuhr., Kāš. *sūr*, Waxī *sökr*, Šiγ. *sīrah*, Afγ. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, Kurd. *sōr*, Dig. Oss. *surx*, Tag. *sirx*. Av. *vafra* 'snow,' New Pers. *barf*, Gab., Kāš., Māz., Gīl., Sarq. *varf*, Minj. *varfah*, Yidg. *varfuh*, Yaγn. *vafir*, Afγ. *vāvra*, Kurd. *bafr*. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Waxī *tax(ī)*, Šiγn. *tašna*, Sarq. *tūr(ī)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afγ. *taẓai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thunī*, Kurd. *tī*, *tanī*. Old Pers. *bāxtri* nom. prop., Phl. *baxr*, *baxl*, New Pers. *balx*. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *ars*, Kāš. *asl*, Māz. *asr*, Afγ. *ōša*, Bal. *als*, Kurd. *asr*, *(h)istir*. Av. *karana* 'boundary,' Phl. *kanār*, New Pers. *karān*, *kanār*, Oss. *kharon*. Av. *mazga* 'marrow,' Phl. *mazg*, New Pers. *mayz*, Sarq. *muẓg*, Afγ. *māyza*, Bal. *maẓg*, Oss. *mayz*. Av. *vītasti* 'span,' Phl. *vitast*, New Pers. *bidast*, *gidast*, Afγ. *vlišt*, *vlēšt*, *lwīšt*. Skt. *likṣā* 'nit,' New Pers. *rišk*, Afγ. *rica*, Dig. Oss. *liska*, Tag. *lisk*. Av. *fšu* 'cattle,' Afγ. *špa*, *špūn*. Av. *srva* 'horn,' Phl. *srūb*, *sruv*, New Pers. *sarū(n)*, *surū*, Bal. *srunbē*, *surum*, Kurd. *savr* 'stag.' Av. *puθra* 'son,' Old Pers. *puθ^ra*, Phl. *pus(ar)*, *puhr*, New Pers. *pus(ar)*, *pūr*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pür*, *pūr*, Samn. *pīr*, Waxī *pötr*, Šiγn. *puč*, Sarq. *pöč*, Minj. *pūr*, Yaγn. *pulah*, N. Bal. *phusaγ*, Dig. Oss. *furth*, Tag. *firth*. Av. *awra* 'cloud,' Oss. *arw*.

Assimilation of syllables.

§ 956. The assimilation of syllables is found occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāirañjana* nom. prop., Pāli *nērañjara*. Skt. *navanavati* 'ninety-nine,' Kaśm. *namāmamath*, Bang. *nivānavvaï*, Bihārī, Hindī *ninānavē*, *niyānavē*, Panj. *naḍīnāvē*, Sindhī *nadhānavē*, *vadhānavē*, *navānavē*.

b. Iranian. Av. *navadasa* 'nineteen,' Phl. *navācdahum*, New Pers. *nuvāzdah*, Afγ. *nūnas*, *nūlas*, Dig. Oss. *naudas*, Tag. *nudas*. Skt. *nakha* 'finger-nail,' Phl., New Pers. *nāxun*, Afγ. *nūk*, Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, N. Bal. *nāxun*, Kurd. *nainuk*. Phl. *āīnīnak* (read *ādvīnak*?) 'mirror,' New Pers. *āyīnah*, Bal. *ādēn(k)*, Dig. Oss. *aidana*.

Dissimilation of syllables.

§ 957. Dissimilation of syllables is found occasionally, although the phenomenon is comparatively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kakkōla* 'bdellium,' Pāli *takkōla*, Siṁh. *takul*. Skt. *jalūkikā* 'leech,' Pāli *jalūpika*, *jalūka*. Skt. *dadrūghna* 'remedy for leprosy,' Pāli *gaddūhana*. Skt. *pipīlika* 'ant,' Pāli *kipillika*, *pipīlika*.

Loss of syllables.

§ 958. The loss of entire syllables is found quite frequently both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *astamayana* 'sunset,' Prāk. *atthamaṇa*. Skt. *avaṭa* 'ditch,' Prāk. *aḍa*, Siṁh. *vaḷa*. Skt. *durgādēvī* 'wife of Śiva,' Prāk. *duggāvī*. Skt. *dēvakuḷa* 'temple,' Prāk. *dēula*, *dēvaüla*, *dēvakula*, Uṛ. *dēuḷa*, Bang., Hindī *dēval*, Panj. *dēvālā*, Sindhī *dēvilī*, Guj. *dēval*, Mar. *dēul*. Skt. *dvādaśa* 'twelve,' Prāk. *vāraha*, Pāli *dvādasa*, *bārasa*, Kaśm. *bāh*, Uṛ. *bāra*, Bang. *vārō*, Bihārī, Hindī *bārah*, W. Hindī *bārā*, Panj. *bārāṁ*, Sindhī *bārahaṁ*, Guj. *bār*, Mar. *bārā*. Skt. *śithila* 'slack,' Prāk. *siḍhila*, *saḍhila*, Māg. Prāk. *ḍhilla*, Pāli *sithila*, *saṭhila*, Ass.

ḍhil, Nāip. *ḍhīlō*, Uṛ. *ḍhĭlā*, Bang. *ḍhĭl*, Bihārī *ḍhīla*, E. Hindī *ḍhal*, Hindī *ḍhīlā*, Panj. *ḍhillā*, Sindhī *ḍhilō*, *ḍhirō*, *ḍharō*, Guj. *ḍhīluṁ*, Mar. *ḍhilā*, *ḍhīl*, *saḍhaḷ*. Skt. *viṁśati* 'twenty,' Prāk. *vīsaï*, Pāli *vīsati*, *vīsa*, Kaśm. *vuh*, Bang. *viś*, Bihārī, Hindī *bīs*, Panj., Sindhī *vīh*, Guj., Mar. *vīs*. Skt. *anurūpa* 'parable,' Prāk. *anurūva*, Pāli *anurūpa*, Siṁh. *nuru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *paitidāna* 'mouth-veil,' Pahl. *padām*, New Pers. *panōm*, *panām*. Av. *θrisata* 'thirty,' Phl. *sih*, Pāz., New Pers. *sī*, Afγ. *dĕrš*. Av. *antarə* 'within,' Old Pers. *ątar*, Phl. *andar*, New Pers. *dar*, *andar*. Old Pers. **duvitīyam kāram* 'for the second time,' Phl. *daṯīgar*, Pāz. *dadīgar*, New Pers. *dīgar*, *dadīgar*, N. Bal. *thī(h)*, Kurd. *dītar*, *dītra*. Av. *hizu* 'tongue,' Old Pers. *(h)izāva*, Phl. *(h)uzvān*, *zuvān*, *zavān*, New Pers. *zabān*, *zubān*, Gab. *izvūn*, Waxī *zik*, Šiγn. *zav*, Sarq. *ziv*, Afγ. *žiba*, Kurd. *azmān*, Tag. Oss. *awzag*. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angušt*, Sīv. *gus*, Vōn. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, Waxī *yangl*, Šiγn. *angašt*, Sarq. *ingaxt*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Afγ. *gūta*, Oss. *angurstḥ*.

Contraction.

§ **959.** Contraction of vowels frequently results from the syncope of an intervocalic consonant in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. In the latter group there was no objection to hiatus, although *y* or, more rarely, *v* was occasionally inserted to prevent the contact of two vowels (see §§ 122, 123, 137, 138, 143, 144, 164, 183, 184, 229, 232, 242, 256, 260, 270, 272, 292, 307, and consult §§ 341–348, 379–394). Hiatus in the New Indian dialects is not as frequent as in Middle Indian. The Middle and New Iranian dialects afford comparatively few examples of vowel-contraction.

The principal contractions in the New Indian dialects are as follows:

$\check{a}+\check{a}>\bar{a}$; $a+\check{\imath}>\bar{a}i$; $a+\check{u}>\bar{a}u$; $\check{\imath}+\check{\imath}>\bar{\imath}$; $i+a>\bar{e}$; $\check{u}+\check{u}>\bar{u}$;

u + *a* > *o̯*, but *ā* + *ĭ*, *ā* + *ŭ*, *ū* + *a*, *ŭ* + *ĭ*, and *ē* or *o̯* + long vowel ordinarily remain in hiatus.

a. Indian. Skt. *carmakāra* 'leather-worker,' Pāli *cammakāra*, Uṛ. *camāra*, Bang. *cāmār*, Hindī, Panj. *camār*, Sindhī *camāru*, Guj. *camār*, Mar. *cāṁhār*. Skt. *bhaginī* 'sister,' Prāk. *bahiṇī*, *bhaïṇī*, Pāli *bhaginī*, Uṛ. *bhāuṇī*, *bhaüṇī*, Bang. *baïn*, Hindī *bahin*, Panj. *bhāiṇ*, *bāiṁh*, Sindhī *bhēṇu*, Guj. *bēhēn*, Mar. *bahīṇ*, *bhāiṇ*. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *caüttha*, *caüṭṭha*, *cottha*, Uṛ. *cāuḍha*, Bang. *cāuḍā*, Hindī, Panj. *cāuthā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāuṁthā*. Skt. *vyajana* 'fan,' Prāk. *viaṇa*, Hindī *bēnā*. Skt. *rājakula* 'palace,' Prāk. *rāüla*, *rāaula*, *lāüla*, Pāli *rājakula*, Bihārī *rāür*, Hindī *rāül*. Skt. *nāpita* 'barber,' Prāk. *ṇhāvia*, *nāvia*, Śāk. Prāk. *nābida*, Bihārī, Mar. *nāū*, other New Indian dialects *nāī*. Skt. *nikaṭa* 'near,' Māg. Prāk. *niaḍa*, Pāli *nikaṭa*, Bihārī *niyar*, *nēr*. Skt. *dviguṇa* 'twofold,' Prāk. *duüṇa*, Pāli *diguṇa*, Hindī, Panj. *dūnā*, Sindhī *ḍūṇā*, Mar. *dūṇ*. Skt. *sugandha* 'fragrant,' Prāk. *suaṁdha*, Pāli *sugandha*, Hindī, Panj. *sāuṁdhā*. Skt., Pāli *rōdana* 'lament,' Bang. *rōitē*, Hindī *rōnā*, Panj. *rōṇā*, Sindhī *ruaṇu*, Guj. *rōvuṁ*. Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Prāk., Pāli *kōila*, Uṛ. *kōyila*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kōil*, Guj. *kōyaḷ*, Mar. *kōkīl*, Anglo-Ind. *koïl*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pāli *gōdhūma*, Ass. *ghēṁhu*, Nāip. *gahūṁ*, Uṛ. *gahama*, *gama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūṁ*, Hindī *gō(ṁ)huṁ*, *gēṁhuṁ*, *ghēūṁ*, Panj. *ghēūṁ*, Sindhī *gēhuṁ*, Guj. *ghaūṁ*, Gyp. *giv*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *dahišn* 'gift,' New Pers., Gab. *dāšn*. Old Pers. *naiba* 'beautiful,' Phl. *nēv*, *nēvak(īh)*, New Pers. *nēk*. Av. *haca* 'from' + *aδairi* 'beneath,' Phl. *azēr*, Pāz. *aźēr*, New Pers. *zēr*, Sīv. *šī*, Zaf. *žēr*, other Central dialects *jīr*, Samn. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judaeo-Pers. *zēr*, Kurd. *zīv*, Tag. Oss. *dala*. Av. *viδu*, *viδava* 'widow,' Phl. *vēvak*, New Pers. *bēvah*, Kāš. *vīgā*, *vīē*, Kurd. *bī*, Tag. Oss. *iday*. Av. *raoγna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōγan*, *rōkan*, New Pers. *rōγan*, Kāš. *ruγan*, *rō*, Wāxī *ruγún*, *ruγn*, Sarq. *ravan*, Sangl. *roγ*, Minj. *roγan*, Kurd. *rōn*. Av. **dātabara* 'judge' (cf. the Aramaean loan-word דָּתְבְּרַיָּא, Dan. iii. 2), Phl. *dātvar*, *dātbar*, *dāvar*, New Pers. *ḍāvar*.

Epenthesis of vowels.

§ 960. The insertion of vowels in a consonant-group to obviate a succession of consonants is extremely frequent both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. The phenomenon occurs somewhat more often in the latter system of dialects on account of their tendency toward assimilation rather than retention of consonant-groups (see § 460). In the Middle and New Indian dialects the vowel most commonly inserted to break up a consonant-group is *a*. Epenthetic *i*, which is comparatively rare, is found chiefly in Panjābī and Sindhī, while epenthetic *u* seems to be hardly found except in the eastern dialects (cf. §§ 3, 4). The three vowels *a*, *i*, and *u* are all used in the Middle and New Iranian dialects. Of these *a* is generally preferred, but if the consonant-group contains a sibilant, *i* is regularly inserted, while *u* is employed when the group includes a labial sound. The usage is, however, very capricious, and it seems scarcely possible to lay down exact rules.

The epenthesis of long vowels occurs with extreme rarity in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khaḍga* 'sword,' Prāk., Pāli *khagga*, Ur. *khaṁḍā*, Bang. *kharag*, Hindī *kharag*, *khāg*, *khāṁḍ*, *ṣagg*, Sindhī *khanō*, Guj. *khāṛuṁ*, Mar. *khāṁḍā*, *khadga*. Skt. *dadru* 'ringworm,' Pāli *daddu*, Hindī *dād*, Sindhī *ḍāḍh(r)u*, Guj. *dādar*, Mar. *dadāḍ*, *dād*. Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Prāk. *sujja*, *sūria*, Pāli *sūriya*, Hindī, Panj. *sūraj*, Sindhī *sūriju*, *sūrju*, Guj. *sūraj*, *sūr*, Siṁh. *(h)iru*. Skt. *snāna* 'bath,' Apab. Prāk. *ṇhāṇu*, Pāiś. Prāk. *sanāna*, Pāli *nahāna*, *sināna*, Bihārī *nahān*, Hindī *nhānā*, Panj. *nhāuṇā*, Guj., Mar. *nahāṇ*. Skt. *ślēṣma* 'slime,' Prāk. *siṁbha*, Pāli *silēsuma*, *sēṁha*, Siṁh. *sem(a)*. Skt. *agni* 'fire,' Prāk. *aggi*, Pāli *(ag)gini*, *aggi*, Ur. *ṇia*, Bang. *āgun*, Hindī *āg*, Panj. *agg*, Sindhī *agi*, Guj., Mar. *āg*, Siṁh. *gini*, Gyp. *yag*. Skt. *ślāghā* 'praise,' Prāk. *salāhā*, Pāli *silāghā*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *sarāhnā*. Skt. *ratna* 'jewel,' Prāk. *rayana*, Śaur. Prāk. *radaṇa*, Pāli, Gāthā *ratana*, Hindī *ratan*, Sindhī *ratanu*, *ratnu*, Siṁh. *ruvan*. Skt. *mlāyati* 'withers,' Prāk. *milaï*, Pāli *milāyati*,

Hindī *milnā*, Sindhī *milaṇu*. Skt. *klēśa* 'trouble,' Hindī *kalēs*, *klēs*, Panj. *kaḷēs*, Sindhī *kilēsu*, Mar. *kilēs*, *kilōs*. Skt. *strī* 'woman,' Prāk., Pāli *itthī*, *thī*, Gāthā *istrī*, Uṛ. *tirī*, vulgar Uṛ. *tiḷa*, colloquial Hindī *istrī*, *astrī*, Panj. *tirayā*, Sindhī *tiriyā*, *istrī*, Eḷu *ītiri*, Siṁh. *istrī*. Skt. *smaraṇa* 'recollection,' Apab. Prāk. *sumaraṇu*, Bihārī *sumiran*, *sumaran*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoγna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōkan*, *rōγan*, Pāz. *raogan*, New Pers. *rōγan*, Kāš. *ruγan*, *rō*, Wāxī *ruγūn*, *ruγn*, Sarq. *raun*, Sangl. *rōγ*, Kurd. *rūn*. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Phl. *sak*, *sag*, New Pers. *sag*, Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, Tāl. *sipā*, Afγ. *spai*, Kurd. *sah*. Av. *raoxšna* 'shining,' Phl., New Pers. *rōšan*, Šiγn. *rōšnaga*, Sangl. *rōšnai*, Afγ. *rūṇ*, Bal. *rōšanī*, Kurd. *rōn*, *rūn*, *ruhnai*, *rūnā(h)i*. Av. *spāδa* 'army,' Phl. *spāh*, New Pers. *sipāh*, Dig. Oss. *afsād*, Tag. *afsǎd*, cf. Anglo-Ind. *sepoy*. GAv. *xšmāka* 'yours,' YAv. *yušmāka*, Pāz., New Pers. *šumā*, Bal. *šavā*, Dig. Oss. *smax*, Tag. *sumax*. Av. *taoxman* 'seed,' Old Pers. *taumā*, Phl. *toxm*, New Pers. *tuxm*, Gab. *tūm*, Nāy. *tum*, Wāxī *taγm*, Šiγn. *tūγm*, Sarq. *tōγm*, Yidg. *tūγum*, Afγ. *tōma*, Bal. *tūm*, *tōm*. Av. *sraoni* 'loin,' Phl. *sarīn*, *sarūk*, New Pers. *surūn*, *surīn*, Wāxī *šunj*, Šiγn. *šaun*, Sarq. *xāun*, Bal. *sarēn*. Av. *xraosōiṯ* 'should scream,' Phl. *xrōs* 'cock,' New Pers. *xurōs*, Gab. *urus*, Bal. *kurus*, *krōs*, Kurd. *korōs*. Av. *θrayō* 'three,' Pāz. *sē*, New Pers. *sih*, Tāt *se*, Wāxī *trui*, Šiγn. *arrai*, Sarq. *haroi*, Sangl. *trāi*, Minj. *šarai*, Yaγn. *θarai*, Afγ. *drē*, Kurd. *sē*. Av. *brvaṯ* 'brow,' Phl. *brū*, New Pers. *abrū*, Gab. *burā*, Wāxī *varao*, Šiγn. *vruγ*, Sarq. *varao*, Sangl. *vurij*, Afγ. *vrūǰa*, Bal. *burvān*, *birvān*, Kurd. *burū*, *burī*, Dig. Oss. *arfuk*, Tag. *arfig*. Av. *draoγa* 'lie,' Old Pers. *drauga*, Phl. *drōg*, *drōγ*, New Pers. *darōγ*, *durōγ*, Māz. *darū*, *durū*, Tāl. *dū*, Sarq. *durū*, Afγ. *darōγ*, Bal. *darōg*, *drōg*, N. Bal. *drōγ*. Av. *mərəθyu* 'death,' Oss. *malath*. Av. *maṯ-paitifrasa* 'with response,' Phl. *pāṯfrās*, Pāz. *pādafrāh*, New Pers. *pādāfarah*, *pādafarah*.

Final Syllables.

§ 961. During the transition from the Old Indo-Iranian dialects to the New, original final syllables have been almost completely lost. Final single consonants of the Old Indo-Iranian dialects have thus disappeared for the most part, and the same fate has met the old short final vowels, while long final vowels have either been shortened or else lost altogether. Complete discussion of these problems, however, belongs rather to inflection than to phonology, but numerous examples of reduction and loss in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects of final syllables existing in the Old Indo-Iranian languages may be gathered from almost every page of this work.

Sandhi.

§ 962. The elaborate system of sandhi found in Sanskrit, and the less artificial conditions observable both in Avestan and Old Persian, ceased to exist in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, although certain traces are still found in Middle Indian (Pischel, *Gramm. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, §§ 156–175, 353, Childers, *JRAS.*, N.S. xi. (1879), 99–121, Müller, *Pāli-Gramm.*, 59–64, Frankfurter, *Handb. of Pāli*, 21–25) and possibly in the Pāmir dialects of the New Iranian (Geiger, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b, 307–308). In the New Indian dialects, however, as in the Middle and New Iranian dialects (excepting the Pāmir group) sandhi is concerned entirely with word-composition. It does not, therefore, strictly form part of a discussion of the comparative phonology of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

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II. REVERSE-INDEX

(Numbers refer to §§.)

a = *a* 2, < *ā* 16, *i* 25, *ī* 36, *u* 44, *ū* 57, *ṛ* 68, *ĕ* 86, *ŏ* 101.
ar < *ṛ* 67.
al < *ṛ* 80.
ā < *a* 5, = *ā* 15, < *i* 26, *ī* 39, *u* 46, *ū* 60, *ṛ* 76, *ĕ* 88, *aya* 341, *āya* 346, *ăvă* 379, *āvi* 388, *uva* 393.
i < *a* 3, *ā* 17, = *i* 24, < *ī* 37, *u* 45, *ū* 58, *ṛ* 71, *ē* 87, *ŏ* 102, *t* 221, *d* 247, *iya* 345, *h* 451.
ir < *ṛ* 70.
ī < *a* 6, *ā* 17, *i* 28, = *ī* 35, < *u* 47, *ū* 61, *ṛ* 77, *ē* 89, *āi* 97, *ō* 104, *iya* 345, *īva* 391, *ĕvă* 392.
u < *a* 4, *ā* 18, *i* 27, *ī* 38, = *u* 43, < *ū* 59, *ṛ* 74, *ō* 103, *āu* 110, *v* 365, *ava* 380.
ur < *ṛ* 73.
ū < *a* 7, *ā* 18, *i* 29, *u* 48, = *ū* 56, < *ō* 105, *āu* 111, *v* 365, *ava* 380, *uva* 394.
ṛ = *ṛ* 66.
ĕ < *a* 8, *ā* 19, *i* 30, *ī* 40, *u* 49, *ū* 62, *ṛ* 78, *ē* 85, *āi* 98, *ō* 106, *aya* 342, *ayō* 344, *āya* 347, *ava* 381, *avi* 384, *āvay* 387.
ai < *ē* 91, *āi* 96, *āya* 348, *āvay* 387.
āi = *āi* 95, < *ayō* 344, *avi* 385.
ŏ < *a* 9, *ā* 20, *ī* 41, *u* 50, *ū* 63, *ṛ* 79, *ĕ* 90, *ō* 99, *āu* 112, *ayū* 343, *ava* 382, *āva* 386, *ivă* 389, *ivĕ* 390, *uva* 394.
au < *a* 10, *ō* 100, *āu* 109, *ava* 383.
āu = *āu* 108.
k = *k* 114, < *kh* 132, *g* 141, *gh* 149, *p* 288, *v* 366, *h* 445.
k(*k*) < *kt* 461, *ky* 474, *kr* 475, *kv* 479, *kṣ* 480, *nkh* 508, *rk* 713, *lk* 797, *ṣk* 822, *sk* 854, *sv* 900.
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(*k*)*kh* < *kṣ* 481, *nkh* 508, *rk* 714, *ršn* 784, *ṣk* 823, *ṣy* 850, *sk* 855, *st* 860, *sth* 866, *sph* 882, *sr* 893, *sv* 901.
x < *k* 115, *d* 248, *bh* 312, *h* 446.
x(*x*) < *sv* 901.
xt < *šk* 913.
xn < *šn* 921.
xs < *kṣ* 482, *šk* 914.
g < *k* 116, = *g* 140, < *gh* 151, *t* 222, *d* 249, *v* 367.
g(*g*) < *kṣ* 483, *gn* 498, *gy* 502, *gr* 503, *ng* 510, *jñ* 515, *ḍg* 538, *dg* 600, *dgh* 601, *rg* 717, *rgh* 719, *lg* 798.
gy < *jñ* 516.
gv < *v* 369.
gh < *kh* 133, *g* 142, = *gh* 148.
(*g*)*gh* < *ghr* 504, *dgh* 602, *rgr* 718, *rgh* 720.
γ < *kh* 133, *g* 142, *j* 179, *v* 368, *ǯ* 440.
(*γ*)*γ* < *gn* 498.
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γm < *km* 472.
γs < *kts* 463.
ŋg < *ŋk* 506, *ñc* 528, *m* 321.
ŋgh < *ŋkh* 509, *ŋg* 511.
c < *k* 118, *kh* 134, = *c* 155, < *ch* 173, *j* 180, *t* 223, *ś* 424, *h* 447.
(*c*)*c* < *kṣ* 484, *cy* 513, *cv* 514, *ñc* 529, *ty* 564, *ts* 591, *tsy* 595, *śc* 810, *sc* 856, *šk* 908, *šy* 930.
ć < *c* 170.
č < *k* 118, *c* 156, *š* 424.
(*č*)*č* < *cv* 514, *tr* 567, *šy* 930.
ch < *c* 157, = *ch* 172, < *ś* 396, *ṣ* 405, *s* 411.
(*c*)*ch* < *kṣ* 485, *ts* 592, *tsy* 596, *thy* 598, *ps* 684, *śc* 811.
j < *c* 158, = *j* 178, < *jh* 189, *y* 331, *r* 350, *s* 412, *š* 425, *ǰ* 441.
(*j*)*j* < *kṣ* 486, *jñ* 517, *jy* 521, *jv* 524, *ñc* 530, *dy* 607, *dr* 609, *bj* 691, *rj* 722, *ry* 763, *hy* 947.
ǰ < *c* 159, *z* 433.
jh < *j* 181, = *jh* 188, < *d* 250, *s* 412.
(*j*)*jh* < *kṣ* 486, *jy* 522, *jv* 525, *dhy* 619, *dhr* 626, *dhv* 629, *rjh* 725, *sy* 890, *hy* 948.
ñ < *n* 276.
(*ñ*)*ñ* < *jñ* 518, *ñc* 532, *ṇy* 554, *ny* 661, *ṣṇ* 838.
ñj < *ñc* 531, *ṇy* 553, *ny* 660.
ṭ < *ch* 174, = *ṭ* 191, < *ṭh* 200, *ḍ* 209, *t* 224.
(*ṭ*)*ṭ* < *ṇṭ* 541, *tt* 559, *tr* 568, *nth* 641, *rt* 730, *rth* 739, *ṣt* 824, *ṣtr* 828, *ṣth* 834, *st* 861, *sth* 867.
ṭr < *tr* 569.
ṭh < *c* 160, *ch* 175, = *ṭh* 199, < *t* 225, *th* 238.
(*ṭ*)*ṭh* < *tr* 570, *ddh* 603, *rth* 740, *ṣt* 825, *ṣtr* 829, *ṣth* 835, *sty* 865, *sth* 868.
ḍ < *ṭ* 192, *ṭh* 201, = *ḍ* 208, < *t* 226, *d* 251, *dh* 265, *l* 359, *ś* 397.
(*ḍ*)*ḍ* < *ḍg* 539, *ṇṭ* 542, *ṇḍ* 546, *ṇḍh* 549, *tr* 571, *dr* 610, *pt* 665, *rt* 731, *rd* 743, *rdh* 749, *ṣṭ* 826, *ṣtr* 830, *ṣth* 836, *sth* 869.
ḍh < *ṭ* 193, *ṭh* 202, *th* 239, *dh* 266, *r* 351.
(*ḍ*)*ḍh* < *ddh* 604, *dr* 611, *rd* 744, *rdh* 750, *rṣ* 777, *ṣṭ* 827, *ṣtr* 831, *ṣth* 837.
ṇ < *n* 277.
(*ṇ*)*ṇ* < *kṣn* 492, *jñ* 519, *ñc* 533, *ṇy* 555, *ṇv* 557, *ny* 662, *rṇ* 726, *rn* 754, *ṣn* 839.
ṇṭ < *ṇṭh* 544.
ṇṭr < *ntr* 637.
ṇḍ < *ṇṭ* 543.
ṇḍr < *ntr* 638, *ndr* 648.
ṇḍh < *ṇṭh* 545.
ṇh < *ṣn* 840, *sn* 874, *hn* 940.
ť < *k* 119, *c* 161, *ch* 176, *ṭ* 194, = *t* 220, < *th* 240, *d* 252, *dh* 267, *s* 413.
(*t*)*t* < *kt* 464, *gdh* 495, *tm* 561, *ty* 565, *tr* 572, *tv* 581, *nt* 632, *nth* 644, *ndh* 651, *pt* 666, *rk* 715, *rt* 732, *st* 862, *sth* 870, *št* 915.
tr < *rk* 716.
th < *c* 162, *t* 227, = *th* 237, < *d* 253.
(*t*)*th* < *kth* 469, *nt* 633, *ndh* 652, *rth* 741, *st* 863, *sty* 865, *sth* 871, *št* 916.
θ < *c* 162, *t* 227, *s* 414.
d < *c* 163, *j* 182, *ḍ* 210, *t* 228, = *d* 246, < *dh* 268, *r* 352, *s* 415.
(*d*)*d* < *gdh* 496, *jv* 526, *tv* 582, *dy* 608, *dr* 612, *dv* 616, *dhy* 620, *dhr* 627, *dhv* 630, *nt* 634, *nth* 645, *ndh* 653, *pt* 667, *bd* 694, *rt* 733, *rd* 745, *šn* 922.
dr < *tr* 573.
dh < *th* 241, *d* 254, = *dh* 264.
(*d*)*dh* < *gdh* 497, *dhy* 621, *dhr* 628, *dhv* 631, *pt* 668, *bdh* 695, *rd* 746, *rdh* 751, *rdhv* 752.
ð < *d* 254.

n < *ṇ* 218, *d* 255, = *n* 275, < *m* 320, *r* 353, *l* 360, *v* 370.
(n)n < *kn* 470, *kṣn* 492, *gn* 499, *jñ* 520, *ñc* 534, *ḍg* 540, *ṇḍ* 548, *ṇḍh* 550, *ṇy* 556, *ṇv* 558, *nt* 636, *ndr* 650, *ndh* 655, *ny* 663, *nv* 664, *rṇ* 727, *rn* 755, *ršn* 785, *ṣṇ* 841, *sn* 875, *šn* 923, *hn* 941.
nd < *ṇḍ* 547, *nt* 635, *nth* 646, *ndr* 649, *ndh* 654, *šn* 922.
ndh < *nth* 647, *hn* 942.
(n)nh < *ndh* 656.
nm < *dm* 606, *sv* 902.
nv < *sv* 902.
nh < *ṣṇ* 842, *sn* 876.
p < *k* 120, *ṭ* 195, = *p* 287, < *ph* 296, *b* 304.
p(p) < *km* 473, *tp* 560, *tm* 563, *tv* 583, *pn* 675, *py* 679, *pr* 680, *mp* 702, *rp* 758, *rv* 767, *lp* 799, *ṣp* 844, *sp* 877.
pt < *tm* 562.
ps < *fs* 690.
ph < *p* 289, = *ph* 295.
(p)ph < *ṣp* 845, *sp* 878, *sph* 883, *sv* 903.
f < *p* 289, *bh* 313, *m* 322, *v* 371, *h* 448.
f(f) < *tv* 584, *pn* 676, *sv* 903.
ft < *kt* 465, *pt* 669.
fth < *pt* 670.
fr < *tr* 574.
b < *n* 278, *p* 290, *ph* 297, = *b* 303, < *bh* 314, *m* 323, *y* 332, *v* 372.
b(b) < *jv* 527, *tv* 585, *dv* 617, *pt* 671, *bj* 693, *br* 696, *bhr* 698, *mb* 704, *rb* 759, *rv* 768, *lv* 805, *vy* 807.
bḍ < *bj* 692.
bz < *ps* 685.
bh < *k* 121, *dh* 269, *ph* 298, *b* 305, = *bh* 311, < *y* 333, *v* 373, *h* 449.
(b)bh < *bhy* 697, *bhr* 699, *rdhv* 753, *rbh* 760, *rv* 769, *ṣm* 847, *hv* 949.
m < *n* 279, *p* 291, *b* 306, *bh* 315, = *m* 319, < *v* 374.
m(m) < *km* 471, *gm* 501, *dm* 605, *nm* 659, *pn* 677, *pny* 678, *mn* 701, *mb* 705, *mbh* 706, *mr* 710, *mv* 711, *rm* 761, *lm* 801, *śm* 814, *ṣm* 848, *šm* 925, *hm* 944.
mb < *mp* 703, *mr* 709, *lm* 800, *hm* 945.
mbh < *hm* 946.
mv < *m* 327.
mh < *bh* 316, *mbh* 707, *ṣm* 849, *sm* 884.
mz < *ps* 686.
y < *e* 92, *k* 122, *kh* 137, *g* 143, *c* 164, *j* 183, *t* 229, *th* 242, *d* 256, *dh* 270, *p* 292, *b* 307, = *y* 330, < *v* 375, *ś* 398, *ṣ* 406, *h* 451.
y(y) < *dhy* 622.
yah < *ū* 64.
r < *ṛ* 81, *ṭ* 196, *ḍ* 211, *ḍh* 215, *t* 230, *d* 257, *n* 280, *y* 334, = *r* 349, < *l* 361.
r(r) < *kr* 476, *ghr* 505, *tr* 575, *ntr* 639, *pt* 672, *pr* 681, *rṇ* 728, *rt* 735, *rd* 747, *rn* 756, *rm* 762, *ry* 764, *rv* 771, *rṣ* 778, *ršn* 786, *rh* 795.
ra < *ṛ* 69.
ri < *ṛ* 72.
ru < *ṛ* 75.
rj < *ry* 765.
rth < *rt* 729.
rd < *rt* 734.
rbh < *rv* 770.
rs < *ršn* 787.
rz < *rj* 723, *rš* 779, *ršn* 788.
rh < *ṭh* 203.
ṛ < *ḍ* 211.
ṛh < *ṭh* 203, *ḍh* 214.
l < *ṭ* 197, *ṭh* 204, *ḍ* 212, *ḍh* 216, *ṇ* 219, *t* 231, *th* 243, *d* 258, *dh* 271, *n* 281, *y* 335, *r* 354, = *l* 358, < *š* 426.
l(l) < *kl* 478, *tr* 576, *tv* 586, *dr* 613,

dhy 623, *ntr* 640, *rt* 736, *rd* 748, *rn* 757, *ry* 766, *rs* 794, *rh* 796, *ly* 803, *lv* 806, *št* 917.
lx < *ktr* 467.
ld < *rt* 737.
ls < *sr* 894.
lh < *ṭh* 205, *ḍh* 216.
(l)lh < *ly* 804.
ḻ < *ṭ* 198, *ḍ* 213, *ḍh* 217, *ṇ* 219, *th* 244, *d* 259, *n* 282, *r* 355, *l* 362.
ḻ(ḻ) < *ṣtr* 832.
ḻh < *ḍh* 217.
v < *k* 123, *kh* 138, *g* 144, *j* 184, *t* 232, *d* 260, *dh* 272, *n* 283, *p* 293, *ph* 299, *b* 308, *bh* 317, *m* 324, *y* 336, = *v* 364, < *ś* 399, *s* 416, *h* 450.
v(v) < *tv* 587, *dv* 618, *pt* 673, *rv* 772, *vy* 808, *vr* 809, *sv* 904, *šm* 926, *hv* 950.
va < *ū* 65, *ō* 107.
vd < *pt* 674.
vr < *bhr* 700.
vs < *ps* 687.
ś = *ś* 395, < *ṣ* 407, *s* 417.
ś(ś) < *rṣ* 780, *śr* 818.
śc < *cch* 512.
śch < *cch* 512.
ṣ = *ṣ* 403, *s* 418.
ṣ(ṣ) < *rṣ* 781, *ṣy* 851.
s < *kh* 135, *c* 165, *ch* 177, *t* 233, *m* 325, *ś* 400, *ṣ* 408, = *s* 410, < *š* 427, *z* 434, *h* 452.
s(s) < *kṣ* 487, *ñc* 535, *ty* 566, *tr* 577, *ts* 594, *tsy* 597, *thy* 599, *ps* 688, *rś* 774, *rśv* 775, *rṣ* 782, *śc* 812, *śm* 815, *śr* 819, *śl* 820, *śv* 821, *ṣy* 852, *sc* 859, *st* 864, *sp* 879, *sm* 885, *sy* 891, *sr* 895, *sv* 905, *šk* 909, *št* 918.
sk < *šk* 910.
st < *sth* 872.
str < *pstr* 689.
sp < *tv* 588.
sf < *sp* 880.
sb < *sp* 881, *sm* 886.
sm < *šm* 927.
sr < *dr* 614.
sl < *sr* 896.
š < *k* 124, *c* 166, *s* 419, = *š* 423, < *z* 435, *ś* 435, 442, *h* 453.
š(š) < *kṣ* 488, *tr* 578, *ts* 593, *pš* 683, *rš* 781, *ršn* 789, *sc* 857, *sth* 873, *sy* 892, *sr* 897, *šk* 911, *šm* 928, *šy* 931.
šk < *sc* 858, *št* 919.
šc < *šk* 912.
št < *šty* 920.
šn < *kṣn* 493, *ršn* 790.
šv < *ršv* 792.
z < *k* 126, *c* 167, *j* 185, *jh* 190, *s* 420, *š* 428, = *z* 432, < *ś* 443, *h* 454.
z(z) < *kṣ* 490, *jy* 523, *dhy* 624, *sm* 887, *šn* 924, *zd* 934, *žd* 938.
zy < *ktz* 463.
zd < *žd* 939.
zm < *sm* 888, *zv* 936.
ž < *k* 126, *g* 145, *c* 168, *j* 186, *š* 429, *z* 436, = *ž* 439, < *h* 454.
ž(ž) < *jy* 523, *rj* 724, *ršn* 791, *šy* 932.
žg < *zg* 933.
žb < *zb* 937.
žm < *sm* 889, *šm* 929.
h < *k* 125, *kh* 136, *g* 146, *gh* 152, *c* 169, *ṭh* 206, *t* 234, *th* 245, *d* 261, *dh* 273, *ph* 300, *bh* 318, *y* 337, *ś* 401, *ṣ* 409, *s* 421, *š* 430, *z* 437, = *h* 444.
h(h) < *kṣ* 489, *ñc* 536, *tv* 589, *dhy* 625, *rgh* 721, *rśv* 776, *rṣ* 783, *ṣṭr* 833, *ṣṇ* 843, *ṣp* 846, *ṣy* 853, *sr* 898, *sv* 906, *hn* 943, *hv* 951.
ht < *kt* 466.
hn < *kṣn* 494.
hm < *mbh* 708.
hr < *ktr* 468, *kr* 477, *tr* 579, *dr* 615.
ḥr < *ṭh* 207.

hl < *pr* 682, *rt* 738, *rth* 742, *rs* 793.
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inṭh < *nth* 642.
indh < *nth* 643.
ind < *ñj* 537.
inr < *ṇḍh* 551.
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B. Iranian.

(O.P.= Old Persian, which is cited in the Index only when no Avesta equivalent is found.)

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E. Old High German.

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F. Anglo-Saxon.
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G. Old Bulgarian.
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H. Lithuanian.
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CORRIGENDA

§ 2, l. 10, § 5, l. 45, § 458, l. 12–13, § 879, l. 10 omit Old Pers. *as(p)a.*
§ 4, l. 12 for *manuṣa* read *mānuṣa.*
§ 4, l. 14 for *karkaṭika* read *karkaṭikā.*
§ 4, l. 24 for *vanā* read *vana.*
§ 5, l. 46 for *paščaṭ* read *pascaṭ.*
§ 16, l. 12 for *upasthāpitva* read *upasthāpitvā.*
§ 68, l. 18, § 82, l. 15 for *pṛdaku* read *pṛdāku.*
§ 71, l. 8 for *mṛdaɔka* read *mṛdāɔka.*
§ 79, l. 5 for *mṛṣavādin* read *mṛṣāvādin.*
§ 82, l. 20 for *mṛttika* read *mṛttikā.*
§ 87, l. 14 for 'green' read 'blue.'
§ 91, l. 2 for *xᵛaēda* read *xᵛaēδa.*
§ 115, l. 21 for *niyāka* read *nyāka.*
§ 133, l. 3 for *rēkha* read *rēkhā.*
§ 167, l. 5, § 168, l. 5 for *raucah* read *raocah.*
§ 184, l. 5 for *rājānah* read *rājānaḥ.*
§ 207, heading, l. 1 for *hr* read *hṛ.*
§ 329, l. 19 for *vapsa* read *vapsà.*
§ 337, l. 2, § 378, l. 2 for *chāya* read *chāyā.*
§ 339, l. 7 for *dēvalaya* read *dēvālaya.*
§ 342, l. 11–12 omit Skt. *maya* 'mother,' Siṁh. *maēṇiyam.*
§ 372, l. 5, § 373, l. 4 for *vaṣpa* read *vāṣpa.*
§ 374, l. 12, § 734, l. 4 for *vartikā* read *vartakā.*
§ 395, l. 10, § 401, l. 12 for *śiṛsa, śirsa* read *śirṣa.*
§ 396, l. 6 for 'once' read 'excrement.'
§ 423, l. 3, § 424, l. 3, § 427, l. 2 for *šavaiti* read *šavaite.*
§ 458, l. 4 for *idānim* read *idānīm.*
§ 459, l. 5 for *jyā* read *jya.*
§ 464, l. 6 for *mukta* read *muktā.*
§ 472, l. 3 for *taoxmān* read *taoxman.*
§ 486, l. 4 for *kṣīyate* read *kṣīyatē.*
§ 495, l. 5 for *dogdhum* read *dōgdhum.*
§ 562, l. 1 *for* assimilation *read* change.
§ 612, l. 5 for *drākṣa* read *drākṣā.*
Read throughout Āvantī, Waxī *for* Avantikā, Wāxī.